AQUATINT ENGRAVING

S. T. PRIDEAUX

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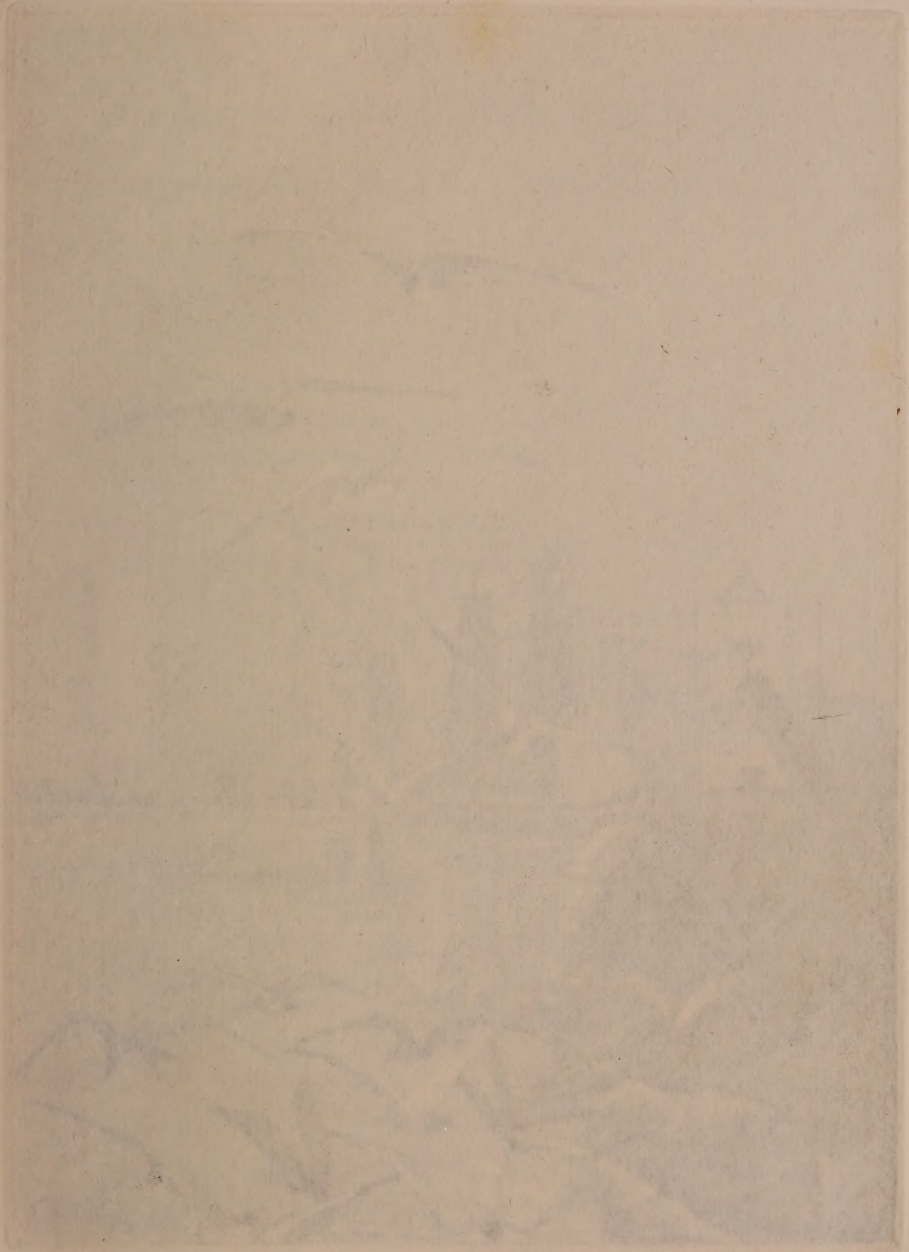

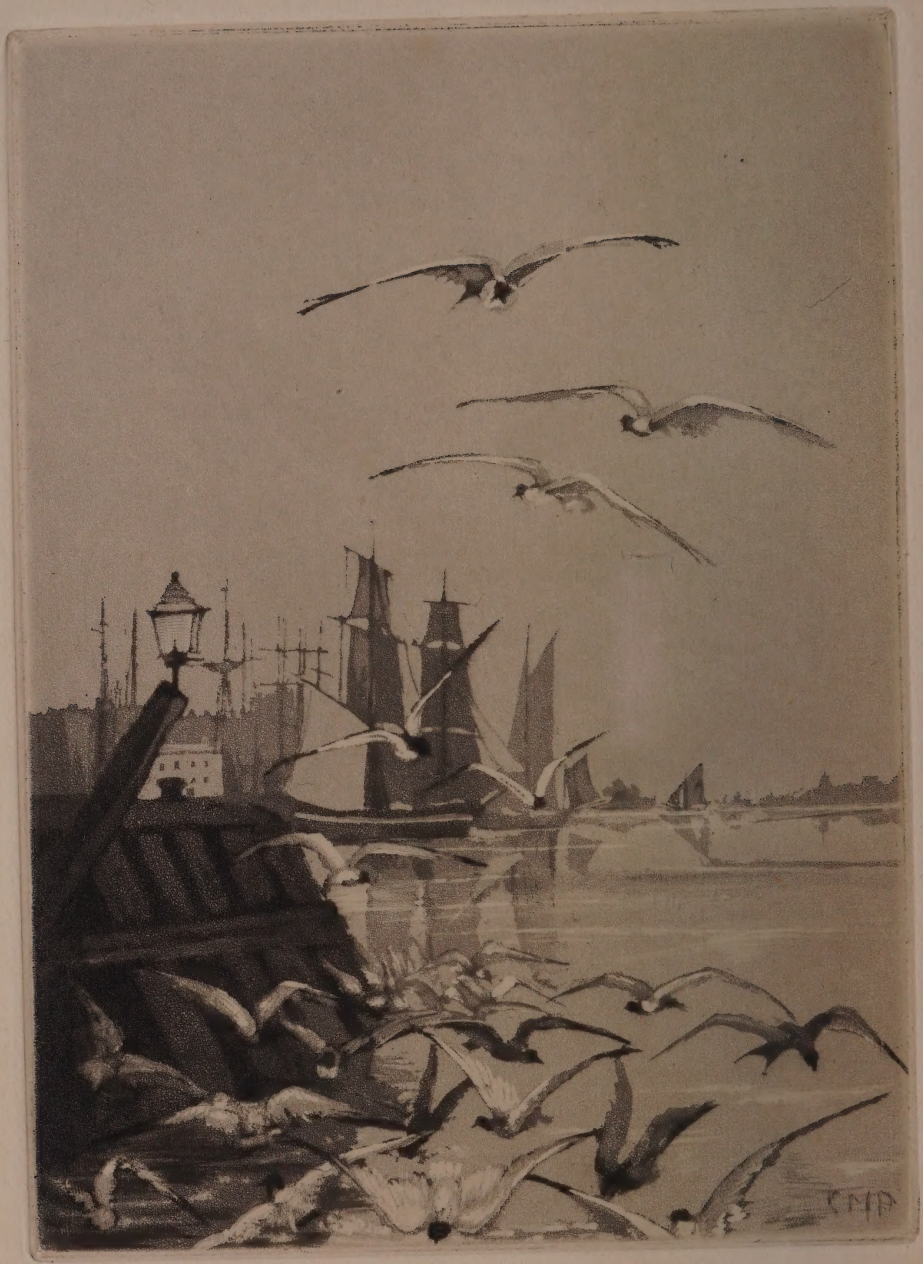

AQUATINT ENGRAVING

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF BOOK ILLUSTRATION BY

S. T. PRIDEAUX

ILLUSTRATED BY AN ORIGINAL AQUATINT, TWO COLLOTYPE PLATES AND NUMEROUS HALF-TONE PLATES

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TO MY FATHER

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I TAKE this opportunity of cordially acknowledging the help given me by Mrs Esdaile in connection with the book and its revision, and by Miss Maude Nathan in putting together the book-list.

My thanks are also due to Mr Frank Short for reading the technical chapter; to Mr A. M. Hind and Mr Alfred Whitman for their assistance in exploring the resources of the Print Room at the British Museum; and to Mr Martin Hardie, of the National Art Library,[1] who has encouraged me to work in detail over the ground he had already broken, and advised me in the selection of the illustrations.

Lastly, I am much indebted to Mr Francis Edwards and his extensive knowledge of illustrated books, which has been constantly at my service. Both he and Messrs Rimell have always given me every facility for examining their books, and so obtaining a first-hand acquaintance with the majority of those included in the list.

An aquatint is produced entirely by means of biting with acid, and is therefore, in the strict sense of the word, 'etched'—a tone etching as distinct from a line etching. On this account it has been suggested to me that in using

[1] I understand that this title no longer exists, and that the correct description is the Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

the term *aquatint engraving* I am helping to establish a conventional misnomer, and that *aquatint etching* would be more correct. Engraving, however, has become a generic term, largely perhaps from its use as a convenient means of expressing any work done by means of wood blocks or copper plates as distinct from painting, and is therefore wide and comprehensive, if sometimes loose in its application. Etching, on the other hand, suggests to the lay mind something specific, *i.e.* work done in line with the etching needle and bitten into the plate with acid. And though an aquatint is strictly a tone etching, 'aquatint engraving' and 'aquatint engraver' are terms that have long been in common use, and I have not felt bold enough to eliminate an inaccuracy so traditional. To break with a long-established convention seems likely to create more confusion than the retention of a term not strictly descriptive.

S. T. P.

LONDON
Nov. 1*st*, 1909

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INTRODUCTION

THE history of aquatint and its employment, whether in book illustration or in the production of single plates, occupies but a small corner in the history of art, one, moreover, which has hitherto not proved of sufficient interest to stimulate any systematic research or grouping of material.

It has been a bypath of special attraction for me since the days when I first made acquaintance with the splendid range of books published by Ackermann, and illustrated by aquatints of high importance. I have been glad therefore to collect and note for the use of others such information as I have obtained by means of continuous research in the various fields in which aquatint engraving was applied,—fields, as I have attempted to show, far more extensive than is generally supposed.

One may say at the outset that much of the attraction of the process, as seen at its best in the coloured plates of the period under review, is due to its being only partly mechanical. Though two and occasionally even three colours were printed from one plate, the remaining tints were added by hand, with the result that there is a certain spontaneity and natural effect not seen in other forms of engraving.

The period during which aquatint was largely used in England ranges from 1775, when it was introduced by

Paul Sandby, to 1830, or somewhat later, but the finest and most important examples are comprised within a period of less than fifty years. In France the process was in use earlier, and I have devoted a separate chapter to the fine exponents of aquatint in that country and to the aquatint work of Goya, the methods of these artists standing apart from those adopted in England.

In England we find certain well-defined subjects to which the aquatint method was applied, notably topography — including both architecture and scenery — costume, sport, caricature, and a series of drawing-books issued by well-known water-colour artists, who were frequently also fashionable drawing-masters, in the early days when water-colour painting was a universal accomplishment among the upper classes.

This book is meant to serve a twofold purpose. On the one hand it is intended as a guide to the student of aquatint engraving; on the other to call attention to a mode of illustration which at its best has never been surpassed in the history of book production. In order to emphasize the importance of aquatint in this connection I have added at the end a list of books containing aquatint illustrations, though finality in such a bibliography is at present out of the question. To make anything like a complete list would be impossible without searching all the illustrated books of the period, since it is not usual for any library to indicate in its catalogue the precise nature of the plates used in illustration. An examination of booksellers' lists shows too that even here it is difficult to discover what books are illustrated in aquatint, owing to the loose way in which illustrations

are described. Woodcuts and steel engravings, being sought after by collectors, are generally distinguished; but only when the aquatints are specially fine, or by some artist well known as a worker in that method and possibly signed by him as "aquatinter," are they specifically so indicated. For the most part they have to be searched for under the general term of "engraving," though this inadequate mode of description will doubtless disappear with the increasing interest that is being shown in the different branches of engraving.

It would have been interesting, had it been possible, to give the full titles of the books in this list, for it was customary during the period to which they belong to give much valuable information in the sub-titles; but, even were space no consideration, it could only have been done from personal inspection of each book. The titles have therefore been reduced to a certain uniformity of abbreviation. Again, the number of aquatint plates has been given in most cases, but although I have personally examined the majority of the books, a certain number of the titles are taken from booksellers' catalogues only, and as I have not been able either to see them or to trace them elsewhere, the information obtained has been dependent upon these entries. Upcott's *Bibliographical Account of the Principal Works relating to English Topography*, 3 vols., 8vo, 1818, is the ideal bibliography for the book lover, but as a practical model for the ordinary classified list it is unfortunately too detailed for imitation. Over the 600 volumes given in the list it would be easy to spend more time in research than is

warranted by the importance of the subject, but I hope that in its present form it will be of use to the collector, and if it only serves the purpose of preventing booksellers from breaking up books with illustrations in order to realize large prices for the separate plates, it will be well worth the trouble that has been taken in compiling it.

The list of engravers known to have worked in aquatint is a fairly long one, but of comparatively few is there much of interest to be discovered; in some instances indeed it is only possible to give the approximate date at which they worked. If this book should prove of sufficient interest to require a second edition, no doubt both the list of engravers and the bibliography could be extended, and I shall welcome any omissions brought to my notice.

Although a very large number of contemporary books have been consulted, there is curiously little relevant material to be found, outside a few old treatises and the usual sources of biographical detail. As soon as the art was duly established every handbook of engraving set forth its use and technique, but these accounts are mostly devoid of any literary or special interest, and to the hand colouring so extensively employed there are only passing allusions; still, there are certain books on the period that may be read with pleasure, and a few that may be of use to the collector; these, with the best early treatises, will be found in the List of Authorities. To this general statement one important exception, however, must be made. In *English Coloured Books*, a volume of the "Connoisseur's Library,"

published in 1906, Mr Martin Hardie has devoted a section to coloured aquatint which deserves careful study. My own work was begun and a part of it completed some time before Mr Hardie's book appeared, and had this been more accessible to the general public I should probably have thought it useless to continue my researches. The unavoidable delay in completing my book has enabled me to profit by Mr Hardie's, and I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to it.

In the study of aquatint it is not so much a literary interest that must be expected, as the interest belonging to the exploration of a comparatively unworked field. Incidentally, however, the student will be brought into touch with a delightful range of subjects :—the development of water-colour painting; the beginnings of travel and adventure; architecture and topography; the history of costume; the manners and customs of an age celebrated for caricature, all of which provided material for this branch of engraving.

As each successive year brings a heavier burden of publications, and many of those dealing with matters of art are worse than useless, some apology seems to be needed for adding to their number. My excuse must be that the more any subject is overladen with the superfluous, the more necessary it is to throw light on its neglected bypaths. A source of enthusiasm in their day, the less important branches of art have barely escaped being stifled under a constant succession of fresh developments, and this is especially true of book illustration. Aquatints, lithographs, steel

engravings, the woodcuts of the Victorian school all have now disappeared before the onslaught of photo-mechanical processes. But there is still a small section of book lovers who turn with satisfaction to the time when the engraver was the translator of the painter, and both again were but partners in the attempt worthily to interpret the author. For them this book may have a use, while for others who share the present interest in all forms of coloured prints, it may stimulate a taste for some of the most attractive examples of colour illustration to be found throughout four centuries of book-making.

I would strongly recommend anyone who intends to make a special study of aquatint engravings to get a general knowledge of the history of engraving and acquaint himself with the various methods of black-and-white reproduction. If he is going to be a collector of prints or illustrated books, he should be able at once to recognize the prints that he comes across and be in no uncertainty as to the class to which they belong. For this purpose no better introduction to the subject can be found than *Etching, Engraving and the other Methods of Printing Pictures*, by Singer and Strang, London, 4to, 1897. With this as a constant companion, together with the purchase of a few cheap specimens of different kinds of prints, a sufficient working knowledge for the collector will soon be obtained. For purposes of comparison, however, I have given a specimen plate showing the different kinds of engraving, line, mezzotint, stipple, etching, soft ground etching, and dry point.

There is no difficulty in telling an aquatint from a

lithograph even without examination, for the indentation made by a copperplate on every impression taken from it is obvious at once, whereas a print from stone has no plate mark. But the beginner may occasionally be misled by a soft ground etching, especially as aquatint was now and again combined with this process; sometimes, for instance, we find an aquatint with the outline etched on a soft ground, sometimes a soft ground etching with a tone of aquatint thrown over it. Soft ground etching was largely used to reproduce chalk or pencil drawings, and was almost entirely discontinued after the invention of lithography, which process it greatly resembles in quality. The procedure briefly stated is as follows: The plate is coated with tallow mixed with the usual etching ground in about equal proportions, and smoked as for an ordinary etching. An outline of the subject having been faintly traced on a thin paper, this is strained over the plate and pasted down at the back. The etcher then redraws his subject, following the lines of the tracing. When the paper is removed, it will be seen that, wherever the pencil has gone, the paper has picked up the ground, leaving a line that has a grained quality corresponding to the grain of the paper, so that the copper is there more or less exposed. The plate is then bitten in the usual way. When the plate has been reworked with the addition of an aquatint ground, the broken line of the soft ground etching blends in the printing *with* the tone of the aquatint ground instead of giving definition and contrast *to* it, like the ordinary etched line.

Another cause of doubt as to whether an impression is from an aquatint plate occurs when the bitings are very deep and the granular appearance is lost. Again a misleading effect of line comes over the network of the ground, when the plate has been rocked and the acid made to flow regularly in certain directions. This effect obscures the small irregular islands of white generally visible when the ground is carefully examined, and in such a case the glass must be directed to the lighter parts of the picture rather than to the darker. With coloured prints it is sometimes exceedingly difficult to detect the number of *printed* colours, as distinguished from those added by hand. If the tint has been put on with a brush the reticulations of the ground will show dark underneath its lighter parts, the wash covering the whole surface lines and spaces alike; if it has been printed, the parts between the reticulations will show white and the lines will appear of the colour that has been used.

The main fields of study are, of course, the British Museum and the National Art Library, but the shops of second-hand booksellers and printsellers will be found almost equally important. In these one may spend many an hour, turning over books and portfolios and studying the technique of the subject, grounds, methods of tinting, mixed processes, and the like. It is perhaps difficult under these circumstances to refrain from putting together a portfolio of one's own, for aquatints are still within the means of the poor collector, though good coloured prints now run into pounds, where a few years back they cost only shillings.

In the course of a short time the collector of one kind of print incidentally learns much that is useful about other kinds, and something besides of the general history of engraving. And if he is a buyer of books rather than of single prints he will probably find that even in the comparatively limited field of aquatints he will need to specialise. A collection of the publications of Ackermann will make by far the largest calls upon his purse, for of late these have greatly risen in value, and the returns of the prices reached by them at auction testify to an increasing demand. But complete sets of books by the Daniells, the Havells, Malton and Ireland may still be put together, though the less responsible booksellers continue to break up these and other volumes with coloured illustrations in order to get a larger price for the separate prints than they could obtain for the complete work. If the books illustrated by individual engravers seem to offer too restricted a field, one of the various subjects with which they deal is sure to appeal more than another. Topography perhaps offers the widest range of interest, but sport, costume, caricature and foreign travel all give opportunity for research and occasion for enthusiasm. With a view to the need of the collector of particular subjects rather than of aquatints in general, the list of books illustrated in aquatint has been subdivided into a few main groups in the different appendices.

As the mastery of one small book may be the key to the perfect knowledge of a language, so the detailed study of some small field of art may be

the foundation of a true appreciation of its higher branches. The student of aquatints is not likely to confine himself to them alone, but is sure, sooner or later, to pass on to an appreciation of the wonders of line engraving and the rich beauty of the finest mezzotints.

CHAPTER I

THE AQUATINT PROCESS

THE art of aquatinting is still practised, more, however, as the occasional pastime of the modern etcher than as a method of engraving, excepting in so far as it forms the basis of photogravure. The few artists who have recently attempted to revive it speak more of its difficulties and uncertainties as a method of reproduction than of its interest as a process, or the beauty of its results. But we are dealing with a period when it constituted the ordinary means of rendering the drawings of the water-colour artist, and when the command over it as a method of translation was apparently as certain as that over its immediate successor lithography. Indeed, the surprising feature of aquatint engraving during the period under observation is the extent of its use and the variety of subjects to which it was applied with equal success. The present chapter, devoted to an account of the process, is largely drawn from two contemporary treatises, the one by Paul Sandby (1725-1809), who first practised it in England, the other by T. H. Fielding (1781-1851), who, during a long life, did some of the most attractive work ever produced in aquatint. Paul Sandby left a paper entitled *A Mode of Imitating Drawings on Copper Plates discovered by P. Sandby, R.A., in the year*

1775, *to which he gave the Name of Aquatinta*,[1] and Fielding published his treatise on different modes of engraving in 1841,[2] so that our authorities belong respectively to the beginning and end of the time during which it was the favourite method of book illustration. Fielding's work is indeed something of a survival, for by 1830 lithography had largely superseded aquatint; that date therefore has been taken as marking the close of our period, though a few later books have been included in the list of books illustrated with aquatints. The technique of the process differs at the present day in details only from that in use when T. H. A. Fielding, J. C. Stadler, J. Clark, J. Hill, the Daniells and many others did the work so much appreciated in their time.

The first step in the process of aquatint engraving is to lay a ground or grain upon a highly polished copper plate. To get this grain it is necessary to cover minute portions of the plate so that these will be protected from the acid bath and only the intervening spaces be affected by it. But the spaces to be bitten must lie so close together that they cannot be detected by the naked eye. Anything therefore in the nature of a deposit that resists the action of acid will suffice, provided it is fine enough. The acid will attack the spaces that separate the particles deposited, and when the plate is inked and printed from, they will appear as tiny white spaces into which the ink has not penetrated.

At the present time there are many ways of getting

[1] *Thomas and Paul Sandby, Royal Academicians. Some Account of their Lives and Works*, by William Sandby. London, 8vo, 1891.

[2] *The Art of Engraving with the Various Modes of Operation*, by T. H. Fielding. London, 8vo, 1841

an aquatint ground, but for a considerable period only two were in use, the dust ground and the spirit ground. The former is believed to have been invented by Jean Baptiste Leprince, from whom Sandby derived it. Sandby, however, seems to have modified this method by the invention of the spirit ground, for which he claims the title of "discovery."

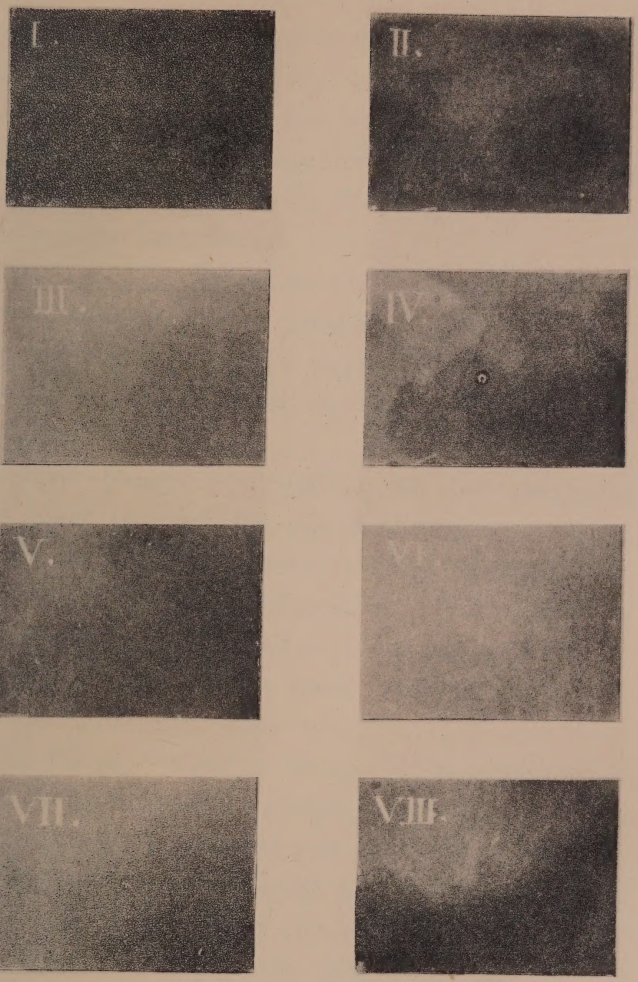
Leprince made a box containing a flywheel with a cord wound round the axle which could be pulled from the outside. Into this box he put some very finely powdered resin or bitumen. The box was then closed and the wheel set in motion so as to raise the dust in a cloud. When this had begun to settle he slid his copper plate, previously rubbed over with a greasy rag, into the box. When completely covered with the powder, the plate was struck sharply on the back to detach the superfluous dust, and the remaining resin was fixed by warming the plate until the dust changed colour from a brown to a bluish tint. In a good ground the grains of resin should be all of the same size, for where they vary the smaller particles are destroyed by the acid before the plate is sufficiently bitten.

In the liquid or spirit ground resin is dissolved in pure alcohol, and a certain quantity of water added, which, when the solution is poured over the plate, reticulates the resin, *i.e.*, draws it together, leaving a network of tiny channels in which the copper is exposed. The spirit evaporates and in a few minutes the granulation is complete. The resin will thus be found spread over the plate in minute grains, ready to resist the acid, which will bite only in the little network

of spaces between them. The coarseness or fineness of the grain, in other words the size of the islands in the network, is regulated by the quantity of resin used. The weaker the solution the smaller the grain, and the strongest solution will therefore give the coarsest ground. The many resinous gums which when dissolved can be used for grounds also help to explain the variety of these granulations. The plate in Fielding's book, giving examples of eight different kinds of grounds, should be examined through a strong glass; appended to it is a list of the eight different compositions that they represent. There is indeed almost as much difference between the tiny and beautiful circular plates of J. Aspin's *Naval and Military Exploits*, only two and a half inches in diameter, and the large *Views in Egypt* by Luigi Mayer, which are on the coarsest of grounds, as there is between two different classes of engraving. And in point of execution what could be more varied than J. H. Clark's illustrations to *Don Quixote* or *Gil Blas* and Havell's plates in Audubon's *Birds of America?*

Spirit grounding is apt to vary greatly, being affected by the temperature as well as the moisture of the air, while dust grounds can be laid with certainty, but the quality of an aquatint on a spirit ground is much brighter and lasts longer in the printing. In the best aquatint work the granulation should hardly be visible, certainly never conspicuous. Although there is now more variety in the laying of grounds than existed in the early days of the art, the process is fundamentally that above described.

Sometimes an outline of the subject was slightly



AQUATINT GROUNDS
from
T. H. Fielding's ART OF ENGRAVING, 1841. Plate 5

etched on the plate before the ground was laid, in which case, to avoid the etched line being unduly bitten by the subsequent applications of acid used for biting the tones, it could be filled up with printer's ink in the usual way and allowed to harden before the aquatint ground was laid. This etched outline is frequently found, especially in early work, and its employment, besides giving emphasis, serves as a guide for the stopping-out processes shortly to be described.

The second step in the process is the transference of the subject or drawing to the grounded plate. This is done either by tracing over a paper prepared for the purpose, or by drawing direct on the ground with a suitable pencil.

The picture being now visible on the prepared ground, the plate is ready for the third stage, or rather sequence of stages, and these, though theoretically simple, are full of practical difficulties. Every part of the plate to be left white is next carefully stopped out by means of a sable brush and a thick composition called "stopping out" varnish, after which a first and very slight tint is bitten. This is done by immersing the plate in an acid bath, after protecting the back and edges by a coating of resisting varnish; in the days of Sandby, however, a wall of wax was built round the margin of the plate to make a dish, and the acid poured over it. A feather is used to dissipate the bubbles of gas formed on the metal by the action of the acid; the plate is then rinsed in water and dried. The broadest shadows and darkest touches are now painted over with a composition called "touching stuff." When this is dry the whole sur-

face of the plate is covered with a thin varnish and again immersed in cold water, when in a short time the shaded parts intended to print dark, and by this time covered with the "stuff," will burst through the varnish, which will float up and can easily be removed. The plate is again subjected to the acid bath, and these two processes of stopping out and biting are repeated as often as the necessary number of gradations of tone require. With each successive biting the plate gets darker, and the limit to the number of times a plate may be bitten lies in the ground, which gradually disappears under the action of the acids. If weakened beyond a certain point, that is to say, if the ground is all bitten away, the impressions are grey and the plate useless. The ground may be bitten a dozen times before the completion of a plate. It is best if possible to have only one ground, but rebiting grounds may be laid on those parts which it is desirable to work over. Gradations of tint can also be obtained in other ways: dark touches can be got by "feathering," or putting on the acid with a brush, and the lightening of tints can be effected by burnishing and scraping.

This is not a practical treatise on the art of aquatinting: nothing has therefore been said as to the composition of the varnishes, mordants, and "touching stuffs." These details will be found in the many handbooks to etching and engraving, and a comparison of modern recipes with those given by the early engravers will be of interest to those who wish to make experiments of their own. But it is hoped that the above outline will prove sufficient to make clear the general method

adopted in aquatint engraving, a method the purpose of which was to obtain that succession of flat tints so acceptable to the early water-colour painters, from their resemblance to washes of colour. They saw in it a desirable means of multiplying their drawings and giving a widespread popularity to the branch of art that they had created.

In concluding this part of the subject it may be observed that aquatint engraving has more affinity with mezzotint engraving than with etching. Etching and line engraving are alike methods of line; mezzotint and aquatint can render tones, and the delicate gradations from light to shade. Both necessitate the roughening of the plate with a grain, in mezzotint made in the copper by means of a tool called the cradle or rocker, worked all over the plate according to a mathematical plan, in aquatint by a resin as above described. But with a mezzotint the lights and middle tints are scraped away from the copper, beginning with the highest lights and leaving the plate untouched for the darkest shades, while with the aquatint plate the lights are stopped out in gradation, beginning with the highest, while the deepest tones get the most biting.

An instance of the affinity between mezzotint and aquatint may be seen in a very rare engraving in the Cheylesmore Collection in the British Museum, the portrait of Master Lambton after Sir T. Lawrence, which with its rich velvety tones has all the appearance of mezzotint. It is, however, a very beautiful aquatint in which the rocker has perhaps been used on the face and legs, the transition from one method to the other being hardly

perceptible. The fact is that it is a copy of a mezzotint by Samuel Cousins, which possibly accounts for the care taken to imitate the texture of the original. I know no other example of portraiture of this type rendered in aquatint, but the plate can hold its own with the finest mezzotints. Pure mezzotint on copper, without the introduction of line or dot, has undoubtedly produced the most beautiful results of any style of engraving, and as a method adapted to portraiture is unsurpassed; but the plates, unless steel-faced, will not yield a large number of impressions, while the aquatint plate, if highly polished before the ground is laid, will throw off some hundreds without showing any wear and tear. The quality of mezzotint lies in its burr, so does that of dry-point etching: in both cases the deterioration of the plate by printing from it is very rapid. In aquatint work as in pure line etching there is no burr, *the lines in each case being made in the metal without leaving a furrow.* The lasting quality of aquatint is due to this fact and is only limited by the shallowness of the lines. Aquatint bears the same relation to mezzotint in this respect as etching in line does to dry point. "We have seen in Paris," says Fielding, "the five-hundredth impression of one of the plates of Ostervald's *Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile*, engraved with a very fine grain, in which even the most delicate tints had not become more weak, and have no doubt that two thousand good impressions might be taken off. The copper was doubly hammered and when polished had a peculiar silvery appearance."

The characteristics of aquatint engraving and its

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1. STIPPLE
3. LINE ENGRAVING
5. SOFT GROUND ETCHING
(roulette introduced)

2. MEZZOTINT (enlarged)
4. ETCHING
6. DRY POINT

differentiation from other forms of engraving may be thus summed up: they consist in getting tones rather than lines on the surface of a copper plate to which a ground has been given by means of aqua-fortis, working from light to dark,—that is to say, the lights being obtained by the first and lightest bitings, the darks by the later and longer, in an ascending scale. Its limitations lie in the difficulty of getting more than a few differences of shade—on account of the rapid deterioration of the ground with successive bitings—and, comparatively speaking, in the absence of transitions from one tone to another, such as are easily obtainable in mezzotint, the stopping-out brush necessarily defining the tones without blending them. Half-tones, therefore, are not easy, and an elaborate chiaroscuro is seldom achieved.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COLOUR PRINTING AND THE INVENTION OF AQUATINT

THOUGH Horace Walpole writes 'Want of colouring is the capital deficiency of prints,'[1] there are those who hold that colour as applied to any form of engraving is a mistake, and that it is of the essence of the art to produce only in black and white. Be that as it may, it is yet undeniable, as M. Henri Beraldi points out,[2] that every new method of black-and-white engraving has been immediately succeeded by a corresponding colour process. And whatever the feeling of the connoisseur may be, the public has always refused to admit that colour must of necessity be confined to painting. Moreover the earliest experiments in colour printing were made by the engravers themselves, not as a result of popular demand, but in order to satisfy the desire to extend, legitimately as they conceived, their own particular province of art.

Before dealing with the production of coloured prints from aquatint plates, it may be interesting to sketch very briefly the history of colour printing, so far as it may be

[1] *Catalogue of Engravers.* Ed. Wornum, p. 119.

[2] "De chaque nouveau procédé de gravure en noir inventé est immédiatement dérivé un procédé correspondant de gravure en couleurs." Portalis, *La gravure en couleurs.* Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1888, II.

inferred from the examples of previous experimenters, excluding, however, the coloured impressions from wood-blocks which date back as early as the fifteenth century, and including only colour printing from copper plates. But it may be well to remind the reader of the fundamental distinction between wood- and metal-engraving. As far as early work is concerned the wood block was always a relief block, and the metal plate always incised. Thus in the one the design is in relief, in the other it is in intaglio. In the wood it is the design in relief that takes the ink or colour and that prints, the white spaces being cut away; in the metal it is the lines or spaces of the incised design that are filled with ink and that print, after the surface of the plate has been wiped clean and the paper forced by pressure into the parts below the surface. The methods are thus diametrically opposed, and the difference is summed up very briefly and forcibly by Ruskin:— "In metal-engraving you cut ditches, fill them with ink and press your paper into them; and in wood-engraving you leave ridges, rub the tops of them with ink and press them on your paper."[1]

There are two modes of colour printing from metal. The one is to take a single plate already engraved and ink it all over at once with the required colours, forcing the individual colour into the bitten parts, blue for the sky, green for the foliage and so on. Painting the plate in this way is a laborious process, nor is it easy to keep the colours strictly to the parts to which they belong and avoid overlapping. The exact procedure of early

[1] *Ariadne Florentina*, § 76.

times is doubtful, but was probably somewhat as follows. The surface of the plate, instead of being covered in the ordinary manner with one ink, was treated by the printer with different colours applied by dabbers of various sizes, such as are used in etching. These are made of cotton wool which, tied lightly in a piece of fine silk, forms an even and elastic cushion. Each colour would thus be put on to the part to which it naturally belonged, and forced into the sunk parts of the plate, and what was superfluous would be removed from the surface, just as in ordinary copper-plate printing. In this method, known as printing *à la poupée*, the plate itself is strictly speaking coloured, and the success of the method depends upon the deftness with which this is done and the care with which the subject is subsequently printed. To the printer, therefore, is due a considerable part of the credit in obtaining colour harmony, and the early engravers were generally their own printers. As it was necessary to colour the plate for each successive impression, it was also possible to vary the blending of the colours, with the result that, when it is possible to compare several impressions of the same subject, there is never found the absolute uniformity associated with mechanical reproduction. The printing stage being finished, the artist would give the necessary touches of colour to such parts of each impression as were too small to be effectively dealt with by the dabber. A clearer colour result may sometimes be obtained from a somewhat worn plate; hence the later practice of taking one that has been used for black printing and issuing coloured impressions from it in this manner.

The fact that no two impressions from a coloured one-print plate are exactly alike, in consequence of the difficulty of inking twice in precisely the same way, is considered a drawback and even to disqualify the process from being considered as, strictly speaking, colour printing, especially as the prints have often to be touched up by hand. But there are two sides to this question, and it is not of necessity a disadvantage that each print should have a certain individuality of its own. We have only to compare several colour prints taken from one of the plates of the modern school of etchers, especially in France, to see what different, and in many cases interesting, effects are obtained by experiments in the repeated colouring of a single plate.

One-plate colour printing was used in the crayon or roulette method, of which the finest examples were done in France by Bonnet and Demarteau; in mezzotint, witness the prints of M'Ardell, Valentine Green and others; and, possibly with the best results of all, in stipple, as may be seen from the plates by Bartolozzi, W. W. Ryland, Thomas Burke, and Caroline Watson. Lastly we find the one-plate method used in the aquatints of the early nineteenth century, which will be dealt with in detail later, that mode of engraving in the hands of its great French exponents, Descourtis, Janinet, Debucourt, Alix, and Sergent, forming the basis of colour printing from several plates. As long as the one-plate colour printing was in vogue, the results were obtained by an association of artist and workman, the final effects being obtained by a certain amount of hand colouring on the individual impressions. This is true

alike of the work of Hercules Seghers, one of the earliest experimenters, and of the English aquatint work of two centuries later. Much indeed of the latter had only one printing, the colour being added entirely by hand. Many critics of aquatint engraving find in this addition of hand work a subject of reproach, but the draughtsmen employed for this purpose were often artists of no mean attainment and the result at its best is little behind that of a water-colour drawing of the earlier type.

The second method of obtaining colour impressions is to take several plates of exactly the same size and engrave upon each the part that is to be printed with a separate colour. They will then be printed from consecutively, one on top of the other, the right position being obtained by means of registration holes to ensure the exact position of the paper. This way is much more expeditious, and inasmuch as it is less open to accidental variations is generally considered more correct as colour printing; the several plates can be inked by an intelligent workman, whereas the preparation of the single plate necessitates the direction, if not the actual hand, of the artist. Registration presents the chief difficulty, as the paper has to be damped, and expands and contracts unequally, so that the greater the number of printings the greater the risk of the final result being spoiled. The number of plates varies greatly: four or five, if dexterously used, will give a considerable colour result, but the French engravers above mentioned used eight or more and their system of registration can be seen on the margins of their prints.

Certain of the names mentioned as pioneers in early

colour printing may be briefly dealt with here, for their work is so experimental that it can hardly be described as true colour printing; but a short review will put the reader in touch with these attempts and possibly lead to more research on this fascinating subject. A holiday or two spent in the print-rooms of foreign galleries would probably yield a harvest of discoveries and possibly throw more light on attempts that are both elusive and perplexing.

First in order both of time and interest come the experiments of Hercules Seghers (1590?-1645?), a Dutch painter and etcher, born at Amsterdam. It is only lately, and chiefly through the exertions of Dr Wilhelm Bode, that certain paintings have been definitely assigned to him, his work having been attributed to Rembrandt, Ruysdael, Van Goyen and others whom he influenced. In artistic feeling he was so far in advance of his time that he remained almost unknown by his contemporaries and unappreciated for many generations. He was one of the first Dutch painters to practise etching with any freedom of handling, and it is from the special character of his etchings that it has been possible to trace his pictures with certainty. His plates have the strong, simple and direct character natural to the painter who sees landscape in tones with a view to colour. Although no plate bears his name it is easy to detect his work after seeing a number of his prints, apart from the faint and rather curious colours which form their peculiar distinction, from their strongly individual character. Seghers saw nature through a somewhat sombre temperament, and was able to suggest

to the spectator the varying moods with which he approached her. Moreover he had few of the landscape conventions of his time, and the outer world seems to have revealed itself to him in a natural way not previously understood. This quality it is that has apparently prompted recent criticism to assign him a place as the founder of modern landscape painting. His etched work is of great importance. About sixty different prints are known, fifty of which are at Amsterdam. The British Museum has only a few and the National Art Library at South Kensington none. Some of those at the British Museum were shown there in 1899 at the Exhibition of Drawings and Etchings by Rembrandt. Landscape is the subject of all that are extant, with the exception of the "Lamentation at the Foot of the Cross," Seghers' only figure plate, two of still life and one of horses. The plate of the "Lamentation" is a reversed copy of a well-known woodcut by Baldung; there is a fine example of it in colours in the library at Chatsworth (*Devonshire Prints*, vol. iv., folio 132, No. 211). An excellent reproduction is to be found in a paper on Seghers by Dr Wilhelm Bode,[1] from which one gets an idea of the remarkable colour scheme of the original and of the way in which from only a few tones Seghers has made a coloured picture out of the black-and-white woodcut. So attractive is it that one wishes all Seghers' etchings could be reproduced in like fashion. It is evident from the character of his work that he had a great love of coloured impressions, and that those in black

[1] *Der Maler Herkules Seghers*, von Wilhelm Bode. *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Band 24. Berlin, 1903.

and white were merely experimental—the groundwork in fact for the impressions which by means of printing in tones and the subsequent addition of different colours he tried to work up into complete picture compositions. These coloured prints are of great rarity. The Print Room of the Rijks Museum possesses the largest collection of them, and should undoubtedly be visited by the student of Seghers' work. His landscape etchings give for the most part the flat character of his native country, though there are many scenes from mountain and valley as well. He has certain conventions of his own as regards the character of the strokes that depict special features of flat ground or rock forms and a way of obtaining shadows that reminds one of their rendering later on after the discovery of the aquatint process. His drawing of fir trees also has been one of the chief means of identifying his paintings.

His exact method of procedure in the production of coloured prints can hardly be ascertained, but, from a comparison of different impressions from the same plate at varying stages, it would appear that the etching needle was only used to give the base sketch or outline and that he always printed from one plate, generally with one colour, blue, green or brown. He used coloured papers, yellow, brown or bluish grey, to get richness of effect; sometimes also a sort of canvas. He occasionally tinted the papers himself, and so manipulated the prints by means of water-colour washes, even using oil colour for the lights, that he turned them out with the appearance of coloured sketches, varying with each impression. His prints were entirely experimental, for in several

examples of the same subject the treatment appears to be entirely different. He does not seem even to have charged his plates with different colours *à la poupée*, but to have made a variety of backgrounds and then printed over them with a single colour.

For a man of his genius and originality, whose output of work too, seems, from the inventories and catalogues of his time, to have been fairly considerable, it is strange that, with the one brilliant exception of Rembrandt, he should have had little direct influence on his younger contemporaries. From his acquaintance with Seghers date Rembrandt's first landscape and early landscape etchings, and, as Bode says, it is not the smallest laurel in the crown of the older artist, unknown to his contemporaries and forgotten by subsequent generations, that he guided the great poet of landscape in these paths.

Still other experiments with one plate were made by Johannes Teyler in a work of which only a single copy appears to be known, that in the British Museum.[1] At the beginning is the following MS. note, written by one of the few descendants of Teyler: "Ce livre imprimé par Teiller est non seulement rare mais absolument unique. C'est le seul exemplaire existant et dont l'existence était inconnue puisqu'il était resté dans la famille de son auteur. . . . Cette collection est surtout d'un prix inestimable, puisqu'elle prouve de la manière la plus evidente que la Chromotype avec une seule planche existait déjà avant 1700." The book has a MS. title with

[1] *Teileri J. Batavi, Chalcographi ingeniosissimi, opus Typochromaticum*, i.e. *Typi aenei omni colorum genere impressi, et ab eo ipso primum inventi.* (Described by J. E. T. Graesse in *Trésor de Livres Rares et Précieux*, Supplement 1869.) 1 vol. large folio. 175 plates.

a border printed in colours, at the back of which is a colour plate with a medallion and the inscription, "Quam nec Parrhasius palmam carpsit, nec Apelles, Teilerus punctis atque colore tulit." Then follow 173 plates of different sizes, including 9 portraits, 11 views of Amsterdam, 15 views of Rome, the Rhine, etc., 34 representations of birds and 10 of flowers. No plate bears any name, date or any other indication, and it would appear that the collection was made by Teyler himself from his own plates and experiments. The 5 large views of Amsterdam contained in the book are well known, and are considered among the rarest of Dutch topographical prints. The representations of birds are as fine as anything in the book, one plate, representing a flying duck, being of peculiar beauty. Nagler[1] says that many of the prints are worked upon with the brush, showing again that Teyler, in common with other early experimenters, combined his printing efforts with hand-work. The book is supposed to have been published at Amsterdam about 1670: and little is known of the author, except that he was Mathematical Professor at the Military College at Nimeguen, where he was born, and that while there he set up a factory for the printing in colours, not only of engravings but of fabrics as well. It is however possible that the engraved title on the volume merely indicates Teyler's intention to publish a work to be entitled *Opus Typochromaticum.*

Another Dutch artist who used a single plate is Peter Schenk of Amsterdam (1645?-1715?). He

[1] *Kunstlerlexicon* xvii. (Teiler).

worked from line engravings, chiefly representations of flowers and birds, which he printed in natural colours. The appearance of the white paper between the lines gives an unpleasant effect, since the colours are prevented from blending—line engraving being in fact only suitable for black-and-white work, where the tones are those of light and shade, to which white gives the necessary value, and not for colour printing, in which light and shade should be got by gradation. None of his colour plates are to be seen in our national collections.

These early experiments with colour from a single plate are chiefly interesting as marking the desire for actual colour *printing*, which is really the making of a separate plate for each colour and the printing of them all by means of registration on a single sheet of paper. But although these early attempts were not the real thing, they have in most cases not only the charm of rarity but often of original and unmechanical effects obtained through the artist's desire to secure a pictorial result. To this end he often retouched the proofs by hand, adding colour that could not be printed, and resorting to certain technical devices of which he alone had the secret, and which were the outcome of his own special process. The exact method by which many of these prints have been produced is a puzzle to the expert. A strong magnifying glass, however, will distinguish the parts that have been printed from those that are coloured by hand. If the colour has been printed, the paper between the incised lines and dots will be white; if put on by the brush, spaces and lines alike will have the

same colour, and where there are masses of light and shade the brush marks themselves will generally be found.

The hand colouring of prints dates back from a time far earlier than that we are concerned with, and several treatises exist giving rules and directions for its use. Of these may be mentioned—*A Book of drawing, limning, washing, or colouring of maps and prints*, published in 1660; *The Art of Painting in Oyl . . . to which is added the whole art and mystery of colouring maps and other Prints with Water Colours*, by John Smith, published in 1723; *The Art of Drawing and Painting in Water Colours; Whereby a Stranger to these Arts may be immediately render'd capable of Delineating any View or Prospect with the utmost exactness; of Colouring any Print or Drawing in the most Beautiful Manner.* This was printed for J. Peele, at Locke's Head, in Amen-Corner, 1731, and another book by the same author, *Method of learning to draw in Perspective*, brought out by the same publisher in 1735, devotes a considerable space to the technique of the colouring and tinting of engravings. The fine works on Natural History of the eighteenth century illustrated by line engravings, such as Curtis's botanical books and Benjamin Wilkes's *English Moths and Butterflies*, were nearly all hand-coloured. The practice of tinting drawings, out of which, as has been shown, developed the art of water-colour painting, was itself a development of the colouring of plates, and those who had attained skill in print colouring were well qualified to wash skies and lay flat tints on architectural drawings. Young artists frequently

began their apprenticeship as print colourers; Girtin was thus employed by T. Malton and Edward Dayes, and he and Turner first became acquainted when each was working for John Raphael Smith. With the introduction of aquatint and its employment in book illustration the occupation of colourer or 'washer' of prints became well recognised, and was one that gave employment to very many persons in the service of the publishers of illustrated books.

Of all the early experimenters in colour printing Jacob Christoph Le Blon (1667-1741) is undoubtedly the best known, and attention has of late been directed to him afresh as the forerunner of the modern workers in the three-colour process of photo-mechanical printing. He belonged to the race of born inventors, yet his career, like that of many another adventurer in the paths of discovery, was marked by practical failure. A German by birth, notwithstanding his name, he left his native town of Frankfurt, where his father was a bookseller, to be taught by Konrad Meyer of Zürich, and in 1686 went in the suite of the ambassador Count von Martinitz to Rome, where he became the pupil of Carlo Maratta. His friend the painter Bonaventura von Overbeck, finding him inclined to dissipation, persuaded him to return with him to Amsterdam, where he settled as a painter of portraits in miniature, an art in which he seems to have attained success. Later on, when his sight began to fail, he painted cabinet pictures and portraits less than life size. It was at Amsterdam that he first began his experiments in colour printing, the outcome of his enthusiasm for Newton's theory of the

threefold composition of light. His first plates were a portrait of General W. van Salisch, then Governor of Breda, and a sleeping nymph watched by a faun, after a painting of his own. Like other inventors, he was careful to keep his process a secret, and he had visions of eventually making his fortune by taking out a patent which should be bought by a company formed to secure facsimile reproductions of the old masters in oil painting. But neither at Amsterdam, nor at the Hague, nor at Paris, whither he subsequently went, did he meet with any financial support.

Finally, in 1719, he determined to try his fate in London, where he secured the interest of Colonel Sir John Guise and Lord Perceval, who brought him personally to the notice of King George I. After a successful portrait of the King and one of Prince Frederick, he obtained a patent (No. 423 of 1719), and a company known as the "Picture Office" was at once formed to work it. Colonel Guise was made president, Le Blon technical director at a high salary, and some twenty-five plates were produced, chiefly full-sized reproductions of pictures in Kensington Palace. The patent was for fourteen years and contains no details of the invention, which is described as *A New Method of Multiplying of Pictures and Draughts by a Natural Colleris with Impression.* For a short time sales were good and the company's stock rose to a high premium; but they were not sufficient to meet the enormous outlay. General mismanagement, for which Le Blon as director seems to have come in for severe censure and to have been even superseded for a time,

soon brought the "Picture Office" into bankruptcy and it was closed in 1722, Colonel Guise alone losing between six and seven hundred pounds. Between 1723 and 1726 Le Blon, possibly as an effort to rehabilitate himself with the public, published a book in London which he dedicated to Robert Walpole, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in which for the first time he describes the method he had hitherto kept secret. It is written in French, with a very bad English translation, and the undated title-page is as follows: *Coloritto. L'harmonis du coloris dans la peinture, reduite en pratique mécanique et à des règles sures et faciles: avec des figures en couleur, pour en faciliter l'intelligence, non seulement aux peintres, mais à tous ceux qui aiment la peinture. Par J. C. Le Blon.*[1] His method was first to resolve the picture to be reproduced into the three component colours of blue, yellow and red. He then prepared three mezzotint plates of the same size, one for each of the three colours, working on each part of the picture to be printed, in the particular colour apportioned to it. White was obtained by leaving the paper untouched, green by printing yellow on blue, brown by printing red on yellow, and dark shadows by the successive printing of all three plates in the order here given, according to a system of careful registration. As regards letterpress the book is of no value, but it has five colour plates in illustration of the successive stages of his method, and is almost the only example

[1] Reprinted at Paris 1756, edited by G. de Mont d'Orge, a pupil of Le Blon, as *L'Art d'imprimer les tableaux. Traité d'après les Écrits, les Operations et les Instructions verbales de J. C. Le Blon.*

of book illustration in which several copper plates are used to give colour to a single print.

His failure apparently left Le Blon undismayed, and he proceeded to launch another venture, which, when carried on at the Picture Office as a branch of its business, had proved a failure. This was a tapestry factory, which was set up in the Mulberry Ground, Chelsea. The surprising thing was, that after taking out another patent in 1727 for "The Art of Weaving Tapestry in the Loom" he actually managed to found another company to carry it out. Horace Walpole's portrait of him no doubt explains the strange power he had of inspiring confidence in his inventions.

"He was very far from young when I knew him, but of surprising vivacity and volubility, and with a head admirably mechanic, but an universal projector, and with at least one of the qualities that attend that vocation, either a dupe or a cheat; I think the former, though as most of his projects ended in the air, the sufferers believed the latter. As he was much an enthusiast, perhaps like most enthusiasts he was both one and t'other."[1] Three years later he succeeded in bringing his printing and weaving methods to the notice of the Royal Society, and the Secretary Cromwell Mortimer's report on them may be read at length in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxxvii., 1731-2.

The new Company came to grief even more disastrously than the first; some of its members were imprisoned, while in 1732 Le Blon fled to Holland. At the Hague he received funds to assist him to Paris,

[1] *Catalogue of Engravers*, p. 119, edition Wornum.

where, though over sixty years of age, he seems hopefully to have started on a new career. His biographer, Mariette, suggests that during this last stage of his career he did little himself, but that his plates were produced under the direction of his pupils, Robert, Tardieu and Gautier. Be that as it may, under the protection of Cardinal Fleury he succeeded in 1740 in getting a "privilège exclusif de roi" for his method, on condition that he printed in the presence of the commissioners. When they reported on it as too slow, uncertain, and expensive a method, he demanded another secret meeting in order to show them a more expeditious way. This consisted in using four plates, the first printing black and so by a ground tone giving all the shadows;—the black plate being the very thing that he had hitherto indignantly rejected. He died in 1741, leaving pupils and associates who quarrelled among themselves over the details of his method and long filled the columns of the *Mercure* with their disputes.

Professor Singer says that 41 different colour prints of Le Blon are in existence, and that he is known to have executed at least 50 plates. Of these he estimates that some 10,000 prints were probably taken, and as not a hundred can now be traced in the different print collections of Europe and America, he suggests that many of them may some time or another be discovered hanging on the walls of private houses disguised as old paintings under a coating of varnish. The British Museum possesses 14 and the Bodleian 2; but the Royal Print Room at Dresden has no less than 26, Vienna coming second with 17. Perhaps

the finest of all Le Blon's achievements is the life-size portrait of Louis XV., a beautiful example of which is to be seen in the Print Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The young King is represented in the flower of his youth ; the flesh tints are surprisingly natural, and the blue of the dress is superb. But for the most part Le Blon's plates are dull and heavy in character, particularly those in which he adheres most strictly to his application of the Newtonian theory. They show indeed, as might be expected, the impossibility of deciding exactly how much of a particular colour there is in a complex printing, especially in the flesh tints. In the details of dress, where pure colours are more frequently contrasted, the results are often vivid and successful ; but there is a certain lack of modelling, and in the flesh tints little of the power of facsimile which Le Blon claimed for his process. In his earlier work he, apparently, used one or two extra plates and, like most other colour printers, made some additions by hand on the finished print, with the result that these early plates are beyond question the most successful and attractive of his productions.[1]

Le Blon's follower Jacques Fabien Gautier d'Agoty (1717-1786) likewise aimed at the reproduction of old masters, but was much less of an artist. Like Le Blon he worked from mezzotinted plates, using that fourth one for black which his master long refused to admit, regarding it as inconsistent with the method of nature.

[1] "J. C. Le Blon," Hans W. Singer. *Studio*, May 1903. "Jakob Christoffel Le Blon," Hans W. Singer. *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst.* Vienna, 1901.

It is obviously a far simpler process to print a design in black and then colour it in successive printings than to produce the modelling of light and shade in a drawing by the right amount of superprinting of different colours. D'Agoty was anxious to be considered the originator of the fourth plate, and claimed thereby to carry on Le Blon's process with greater success. He applied to the State for recognition and, by order of the Council of Versailles, was granted a patent for three years on September 5th 1741. In 1749 he published a pamphlet, *Lettre concernant le nouvel Art d'imprimer les Tableaux avec quatre Couleurs*, and another, *Observations sur le Peinture*, in 1753, in which he distinctly styles himself the inventor of the process of colour printing. He planned an extensive collection of portraits called *Galerie Française, ou Portraits des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres qui ont paru en France*, which contains some attractive likenesses of Louis XII. and Mme. de Maupeou, but he was occupied with too many subjects to succeed in any one, and only two parts appeared, in 1770 and 1772 respectively. He was more successful with his anatomical plates, which from their crude but striking realism attained considerable notoriety. His chief work is the *Observations sur l'Histoire Naturelle, sur la Physique et sur la Peinture*, Paris, 1753-57, with numerous plates in coloured mezzotint, others in etching, some of the latter being coloured by hand. He is said to have died of grief at being struck off the roll of members of the Dijon Academy, in consequence of private quarrels. The genealogy of the d'Agoty family is difficult to disentangle, but Jacques seems to have had three sons,

Louis Charles, Arnaud Eloi, and Édouard, who worked with him.

His son Édouard had more talent than his father and excelled chiefly in portraiture. His most important work consists of twelve plates in colour, nearly all executed from the pictures in the collection of the Duc d'Orleans. The process was complicated and costly, and the work of which they were a part, planned to include fifty plates, and to cost £900, was never completed. On the failure of his scheme the artist left France for Italy, and there died at the age of 40. To him must be assigned the *chef d'œuvre* of the family, the very rare colour print of Madame du Barry, a fine copy of which is in the Hennin Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In this portrait, according to Portalis, the process seems to have been the printing first of a blue plate over a slightly mezzotinted ground; the yellow plate has come next and then the red; lastly a fourth plate completes the effect by printing the high lights and the drawing of the lace. Still rarer is the portrait of Marie Antoinette, also by Édouard, of which only one example is known, and that printed on velvet.

The three-colour process seems to have been practised by hardly anybody after Le Blon except the d'Agoty family and Carlo Lasinio, who learnt it from Edouard d'Agoty in Italy, and who made a portrait of him in this manner, as well as a series of small engravings from the pictures in the Uffizi. A copy of these *Ritratti de' Pittori*, with a MS. title, is in the Print Room of the British Museum. This group of artists all worked from mezzotint plates, and it is possible that the

work was made more difficult to them by the fact that the grounding of a mezzotint plate was not thoroughly understood on the continent at that time,—nor indeed was the knowledge of that branch of engraving ever so perfect anywhere as in England.

There seems to be no one person to whom the actual invention of aquatint can definitely be assigned. The name of Jean Baptiste Le Prince (1734-1781) is most often connected with it, but the Abbé de St Non (1727-1791) practised it contemporaneously, while a Swedish engraver, Per Gustav Floding (1741-1791), has some plates of which four are dated 1762. By a comparison of the dates of these three men, it will be seen that, in default of any specific statement of discovery or signed plates by each and all of them, it is impossible to do more than record that between the years 1750 and 1780 they were all at work on experiments with the aquatint process.

In this connection must be mentioned a large portrait of Oliver Cromwell, attributed to Jan van de Velde, a Dutch engraver who was working between 1593 and 1641, executed in line and stipple, but with an aquatint background. If the attribution is correct it would put the aquatint process a century before it is supposed to have been discovered: but it is more likely that the attribution is mistaken and that the background was added later.

Mention should also be made of an aquatint in the British Museum of a woman bathing, which was long placed among engravers of the Rembrandt school owing to its resemblance to that master's *Bathsheba*. It is,

however, probably an eighteenth century pastiche, but in any case it must rank among the early examples of aquatint.

Jean Claude Richard de St Non must be placed in the front rank of amateur engravers of the eighteenth century. A man of charming disposition and keen enthusiasms,—"né pour les arts et l'amitié," as his biographer puts it,—he turned to life with a zest and large-heartedness that endeared him to his many friends. Family influence having directed him to the Church, he was made an abbé, and subsequently had a place in the Legislative Assembly. He was exiled with all the Parliament and during his exile took up the study of engraving. He afterwards returned to Paris, but dissensions recommenced and he sent in his resignation, selling his place in the assembly and starting for Italy with the proceeds in order to devote himself to art. When at Rome he came across two students of the French Royal Academy, Hubert Robert and Honoré Fragonard, with whose drawings much of his work is associated. For three years, from 1759 to 1761, the three travelled over Italy, the Abbé doing much miscellaneous work and afterwards rendering his drawings in etching and aquatint. The National Art Library at South Kensington has a large folio entitled *Recueil de Griffonis de vues, paysages, fragments antiques et sujets historiques gravés tant à l'eauforte qu'au lavis par M. l'Abbé de St Non amateur honoraire de l'académie royale de peinture d'après differents maîtres des écoles italiennes et de l'école française.* The twenty etched plates are of great individuality and most attractive in character.

Further on in the volume is another etched title-page, *Fragments à choisir dans les peintures et les tableaux les plus interessants des palais et des églises d'Italie*, comprising 294 plates after Robert and Fragonard. These are mostly in pure aquatint, that is to say without etched outline, a rendering of the wash drawings that really justifies the title "au lavis." It is a most interesting book and particularly important for the study of early aquatints. That the process was kept a secret as far as possible is shown by a letter from St Non to the Baron de Joursanvault, in which he says that it is impossible to explain the nature of the discovery, as he had given his word of honour not to do so. In the history of art one has often reason to deplore the efforts of pride or avarice to preserve the secret of some new discovery, efforts that rarely or never meet with complete success except in so far as they often leave in obscurity the origin and development of a particular process.

St Non made a second sojourn in Italy, especially at Naples, to collect materials for his *Voyage pittoresque à Naples et dans les deux Siciles*, a stupendous work in five volumes which began to appear in numbers in 1778. It was planned on a most elaborate scale; different people had charge of the several departments, natural history, antiquities, and the like, a large number of the best known artists being engaged to collaborate while he directed the enterprise from Paris. In the end the fatigue and expenses connected with it were so great that the artists became discouraged and withdrew, and the abbé, though able to meet the expenses by

means of his own fortune and that of his brother, was none the less practically ruined. His friend J. R. Delafosse (1721-?), engraver and print-seller, who had taught him the secret of aquatint, was also, like so many other engravers of the time, in possession of a new method of printing in colours, possibly the precursor of that used later on by Debucourt. This he communicated to St Non for his *Voyage à Naples*, which Delafosse was both to edit and distribute. St Non's correspondent the Baron de Joursanvault wrote to him for details, and the reasons he gives in reply for relinquishing the idea of using colour plates, based chiefly on the criticisms likely to ensue, are interesting enough, especially as bearing on the controversies that took place over the coloured illustrations of Ploos van Amstel and the Commission of 1768.

Jean Baptiste Le Prince, a skilful painter as well as an excellent engraver, was born at Metz, where he learnt the rudiments of both arts. As his family was poor and unable to supply him with the means of going to Paris, he ingratiated himself with the Maréchal de Belle Isle, Governor of Metz, who took him to the capital and placed him in the atelier of François Boucher. A born scapegrace, his love of money caused him to marry at eighteen a woman of forty, only to run through her fortune, desert her and go to Italy. Finding himself still uninspired, he returned to Paris, where he acquired some reputation; but being again in difficulties, eventually went to Russia, probably at the suggestion of his brothers, musicians settled at Moscow. He seems to have been welcomed at St Petersburg, where he executed

pictures for the Imperial Palace, remaining in Russia five years, and living on the proceeds of his work. He visited various parts of the empire, sketching not only landscape, but also peasant life with its costume and customs, and thus introducing a type of subject new to Russian art. He became acquainted with Chappe d'Auberoche, whose travels in Siberia he subsequently illustrated, and returned to Paris in 1763 with an extensive selection of drawings, from which he painted pictures and produced plates in etching and aquatint. Some 160 of these are known; they were issued in sets of six, two of these sets *Suite d'habillements de diverses nations* and *Suite de coiffures designées d'après nature*, both issued in 1768, are in aquatint. In 1765, at the age of thirty-one, he was accepted by the Academy on the strength of his picture, *Un Baptême Russe;* his paintings were much admired, and another of them, *Le Corps de Garde*, is now in the Louvre. He seems to have discovered the aquatint method almost without experiment and at once to have produced by it a number of plates which he submitted to the Academy in 1769. In the accompanying letterpress he describes the prints as drawings in Indian ink and bistre engraved by a new process of his invention, different from any hitherto in use, which permits of working on copper almost as quickly as drawing. The best of these fall between the years 1768 and 1771, and among them may be named *La Danse Russe*, *Récréation Champêtre*, *La Musicienne*, *La Jardinière*, *Le Poële*, *La Lampe Polonaise*, and a pastoral entitled *O Fortunatos Nimium*. His plates in illustration of *Un Roué Vertueux* are competent if eccentric; his last

LES NOUVELLISTES.
By Jean Baptiste Le Prince.

work in aquatint was a set of three plates called *Les Sens*, dated 1774. Although he was elected on the Council of the Academy in 1775, it does not appear that that body made any attempt to obtain from him the secret of his new method of engraving, but after his death, the niece who had looked after him being in straitened circumstances, they decided, with a view to helping her, to offer a sum of money for its acquisition. She then made over to them the MS., which is in the handwriting of the artist and has never been printed. There are a fair number of his prints in the British Museum, miscellaneous in character, chiefly small scenes in sepia or Indian ink, in which the aquatint ground is very fine and somewhat tentatively used, while the outline is etched.

P. G. Floding (1741-1791) worked in Paris as a pupil of Charpentier. He engraved two plates after the designs of Boucher, dedicated to his patron Baron Ulric de Scheffer, representing *Soldiers sleeping near the Prison of St Peter*, and *Daphne changed into a Laurel*, both dated 1762. When Gustavus III. of Sweden came to Paris Floding engraved the drawing executed by Cochin in commemoration of the event, as well as the portrait of Gustavus after Pasche, and one of his compatriots, the painter Balin, who like himself lived in Paris.

In the archives of the Swedish Academy of Arts there is, says Looström in his *History* of that Academy, an official letter from Cochin, then Secretary of the Académie des Beaux Arts, in which he says that the invention of imitating wash drawings by means of aquatint must be in large measure ascribed to Floding.

Floding wrote a treatise on the subject in which the description of his technique, though not quite clear, suffices when taken in conjunction with his prints to show that he really knew and practised an elementary aquatint not different in nature from that of Le Prince, though never attaining to the depth and richness of effect seen, for instance, in the latter's *Récréation Champêtre.* He speaks of his method as "small and almost indistinguishable points lying close by each other in about the same manner as the holes of the bees in the honey cake." But his plates are in a very mixed process; line, etching and roulette are all used on them, and it is only in places that there are patches of pure aquatint.

From very early times attempts had been made to give tone to an etched plate by means of a delicate grain, produced by leaving acid on the surface of the plate. An interesting example of this may be seen on two plates of somewhat heavy renaissance ornament by Daniel Hopfer of Augsburg (*fl.* 1493-1536).[1] In these he has apparently obtained the high lights by 'stopping out,' and the half-tones, by feathering acid over the parts required to be left grey, producing a tone very like that given a hundred years later by a fine aquatint ground.

Of all the attempts at intaglio printing in colours, none were so interesting, so elaborate, or so successful as those made by Ploos van Amstel (1726-1798). The son of an Amsterdam wine merchant, he showed very early great talent in drawing, but his parents were too

[1] *Inkunabeln der deutschen Niederländischen Radierung.* Gustav Pauli Graphische Gesellschaft, Berlin 1908.

poor to admit of his adopting the career of an artist. He was therefore apprenticed to a wood merchant, whose generous treatment enabled him to continue his studies in drawing, always in the hope of one day being able to devote himself exclusively to art. When his master died in 1750, the nephew, having no interest in the business, gave it over to Ploos and his friend Wessiling, who thus became heads of the house and important citizens of the town. Ploos was now in a position to cultivate the acquaintance of the artists he came across, and married the daughter of one of them, Cornelis Troost, herself a clever draughtsman. He frequented sale-rooms and added to the collection that he had begun to make at the age of fourteen, thus laying the foundation of an extensive knowledge of many branches of art. He seems indeed to have followed both art and business with equal assiduity and, through great pertinacity in the pursuit of his aim to improve the study of art among his countrymen, became one of the most important and distinguished of connoisseurs. In 1738 a number of artists, including Ploos, bound themselves together under the title of "Freundschaft vereinigt die Künste," and to their efforts the town of Amsterdam owes its now important Academy; in consequence of its success Ploos, an important member of the Society, was invited to help in the establishment of a similar Academy at the Hague.

He had made himself a capable draughtsman and engraver, and early developed the idea of multiplying drawings by means of engraving. His friend the goldsmith Cootwyk seems to have had the same intention, but

it was with Josi, who later edited his great work, that Ploos seems first to have spoken of the project. Attention had been directed to the plates after drawings by French masters in red and black crayon, and Ploos set himself to discover the process. It was out of this that his colour printing developed, for if one or two plates produced these crayon prints, why, he argued, should not the use of more plates give a variety of colours? This discovery, as we have seen, took place about the same time in many places, but by no one was it carried to such completion as by Ploos. He at once set himself to reproduce the great masters of the Netherlands, whom he thought neglected by his countrymen, and between 1764 and 1787 there appeared 46 plates, issued in such time as he could spare from the demands of his business; 350 impressions were struck from every plate, each accompanied by a brief description. The expense was so great that, with a view to publication and technical help, he took an apprentice whom he bound over not to reveal his secrets either during his life or after his death and to work entirely under his control, under penalty of a fine of 3000 florins. But the apprentice fell ill, and the agreement was dissolved in 1767. It would appear as if there had already been criticisms concerning the nature of his process, giving rise to suspicions as to its genuineness: for he sought an inquiry from the Mattschappy det Weeten Schappen at Haarlem. The Commission, including the Mayor of Amsterdam, met on October 8th, 1768, and Ploos printed before them a plate after Ostade. The secretary then made a report signed by all present, a copy of

which was given to Ploos; it stated that "his figures were neither engraved by means of the burin nor etched with a point, nor hammered with a puncheon on the copper, but that they were rather produced by means of certain ground varnishes, powders and liquids; that he by no means coloured the prints by hand, but printed them entirely, and not with water colours, but with oil colours." So runs the document, but, notwithstanding this detailed disclaimer, subsequent criticism confirms the suspicions of contemporaries, and finds evidence of hand work on his prints. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the splendid work which was published by Josi in London in 1821 is among the marvels of colour illustration, and that many of the plates are only distinguishable from original drawings by expert knowledge of where and how to look for the signs of "process." Exactly how they were produced no one has been able to decide. Many of the operations remained secrets of the workshop, while the imperfect impressions from which much might be learnt and which were probably very numerous were undoubtedly most carefully destroyed. Aquatint is very largely used, some fifteen plates being beautiful examples of this method, but in parts of many of the other plates there is both mezzotint and roulette work; other parts again can hardly be accounted for by any known method. Professor Singer, a high authority on the history of engraving, says that he has compared different copies of some of Ploos' prints that had not been touched for 100 years, and that they do not tally as they would have done had all the colours been actually printed.

The faithful apprentice had been succeeded by another, one Bernaert Schreuder, who was admitted under even more stringent regulations; but he seems to have demanded higher and higher prices for his work, till he at length became an open enemy and left his master's service to join a "Company for the issuing of prints in the manner of Ploos van Amstel." Ploos apparently realized that the defaulter was too unskilled to do him much damage, for he does not seem to have taken it to heart. Events justified his indifference, for the company found no support and went into bankruptcy on the death of Schreuder.

The Prince of Orange had been attracted to Ploos' prints and expressed a wish to be initiated into the method: a demonstration was therefore arranged, after which the Prince himself made a plate, Ploos furtively making a sketch of him the while which is still in existence. The plate was duly signed by the Prince, and a medal was sent to Ploos to commemorate the occasion. He became a member of all the learned societies, and as Director of the Academy gave discourses both on painting and anatomy which were printed by request and brought him additional fame. There is no doubt that his insight and knowledge were both very considerable; he gradually became the adviser of all his friends who collected pictures and engravings, making their catalogues and exploring on their behalf all the sales and antiquarian shops of Amsterdam, whereby he not only improved his own knowledge but was enabled to make private acquisitions on the best of terms. His collection was so important that

when it was dispersed at Amsterdam after his death it fetched 109,486 florins.

Christian Josi, to whom we owe the publication of his drawings in book form, was a relation of Ploos, and had been at one time apprenticed to him. Born at Utrecht and educated at the Art Institute there, he was sent to England with a travelling studentship and worked in this country for five years under John Raphael Smith and also, it is said, under Bartolozzi and Conrad Metz. At the end of that time he married a daughter of Jan Chalon, a Dutch painter living in London, and settled at Amsterdam as an engraver and dealer in prints and paintings. Ploos intended to associate Josi with him in a continuation of his series of drawings after the Dutch masters, but died before the intention was carried out. Josi fortunately acquired his stock with a view to continuing the work, but it was not till twenty years later that he brought it to a successful issue. In 1810 he completed a catalogue of the Ploos Collection of etchings by Rembrandt which were sold by auction that year in Amsterdam. The book is of great value, and has a portrait of Rembrandt etched by Josi himself, though he had discontinued the practice of engraving in consequence of the failure of his health. The occupation of Holland by the French from 1810 to 1814 plunged the country into mourning, and put a stop for the time to all artistic projects. On the departure of the French Josi left Amsterdam, and was one of the committee selected in 1815 to go to Paris and recover the works of art taken thither by Napoleon. In 1819 he brought his family and collections to London

and settled in Gerrard Street, Soho, continuing his business as print dealer, and preparing for the publication of the work of Ploos which was issued two years later under the title of *Collection d'Imitations de Dessins d'après les principaux Maîtres Hollandais et Flamands, commencée par C. Ploos van Amstel, continuée et portée au nombre de Cent Morceaux . . . par C. Josi. À Amsterdam et à Londres chez C. Josi, 42 Gerrard Street, Soho.* The book, of enormous size, is written in French and printed throughout in a type proportionate to its scale. Every artist whose work is represented has a short notice, and there is a preface of an autobiographical nature full of reminiscences of sale-rooms and collectors. It well deserves to be made more accessible as a delightful picture of connoisseurship in Holland a century ago, at a time when the country was overwhelmed by disaster, and also as a graphic picture of the enthusiasm for English prints that prevailed on the Continent at that time. Nothing, he tells us, would sell without an English title, whatever its merit; he could not dispose of his own work until he had added the required inscription, and the result was one of the most extensive series of forgeries in the whole history of art. Josi died in 1828 and his collection was sold at Christie's in March 1829: the sale occupied twelve days and excited much interest on account of its owner's reputation as an amateur. His love of art was inherited by his son Henri Josi, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum from 1836 to his death in 1845.

AFTER A DRAWING ATTRIBUTED TO GERARD TERBOSCH.
From the *Collection d'Imitations de Dessins* (1821) by Cornelis Ploos van Amstel.

The *Collection d'Imitations de Dessins* with which Josi's name will always be associated is one of the finest books of its kind in existence. There are 100 plates, comprising water-colours of Ostade, flower and fruit pieces by Van Huysum, sepia drawings of Van Eeckhout, crayons of Metz and Mieris, Indian ink sketches of Netscher, animal studies of Wouwermans and Potter, sea pieces of Van Goyen, and all are executed with the most extraordinary faculty of imitating technique. It was the habit of Ploos to mark all his plates with a stamp, so that they are easily distinguished. Josi himself, as already said, etched the portrait of Rembrandt; other engravers were the goldsmith Cootwyck, Kornlein, Schrender, J. de Bruyn, and Dietrich. One print, after a landscape by Rembrandt, is signed C. C. (? F. C.) Lewis. The edition was limited to 200 copies, half for France and half for England, and the price was forty guineas to subscribers and fifty to non-subscribers. Josi disposed of the edition with difficulty, but there is little doubt that some day it will be amongst the books most sought after, though its size, and one must add its weight, will always be against it. Both the British Museum and National Art Library possess copies, and at the former the preface and notices are also to be found in a separate volume without the illustrations.

As we shall not have occasion to allude to them elsewhere, it may be well to draw attention at this point to other books of the same type in which aquatint was used, though to nothing like the same extent as by Ploos. The latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the

nineteenth centuries were remarkable for the publication of large volumes of reproductions of the wash drawings of old masters, mostly from the private collections then so fashionable among amateurs. Chiaroscuro woodcutting, an extension to *surface* reproduction of the principle of the line woodblock, was invented as a means of reproducing wash drawings in which the contrasts of light and shade were marked with few gradations of tone. It arose in Germany, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when artists drew upon tinted paper, working the outlines in pen or pencil and putting in the lights by means of a brush with white body colour. These drawings had only some three different tones, and in order to reproduce them the wood cutter made a block for each, one for the tinted paper, one for the lights, and one for the shadows, and then printed them successively. The art was practised even more extensively in Italy, where more blocks were used, and more tones therefore produced.

An early attempt of this nature, very interesting as being on the borderland of aquatint, can be seen in the *Vita di Anton Domenico Gabbiani* (1652-1726), a Florentine painter. The *Vita* is followed by *Raccolta di cento pensieri diversi de A.D.G. fatti intagliare in rame da I. E. Hugford pittore e suo descepolo nel modo e forma che sono gli originati, esistenti nella di lui collezione in Firenze* (1762). The one hundred plates are in different modes of engraving, printed in one colour, mostly in varying shades of brown or red. This Ignazio Hugford was an historical painter, born of English parents in 1703 but living in Florence, where he died in 1778. Among his pupils Cipriani and Bartolozzi worked as fellow-

students, and Horace Walpole came across him when in Italy, as we learn from a letter to Sir Horace Mann, dated October 23rd, 1742: "I saw two books (of drawings) that I should now be very glad to have, if you could get them tolerably reasonable; one was at an English painter's; I think his name was Huckford, over against your house in via Bardi; they were of Holbein."

Louis Bonnet (1735(43?)-93), whose name is chiefly associated with the crayon manner of engraving, which he claimed to have invented, also seems to have experimented in methods closely resembling aquatint. In the 1767 edition of Caylus' *Recueil de Testes de Caractère et de Charges dessinées par Léonard da Vinci* a signed frontispiece and two plates are interesting records of his attempts in that manner.

As soon, however, as aquatint was discovered to be a suitable and less laborious[1] method of rendering the wash drawings of early or contemporary masters it was applied to their reproduction.

The first of these books published in England in which aquatint is to be found is *A Collection of Prints after the Sketches and Drawings of the late Celebrated Giovanni Battista Cipriani, Esq., R.A., Engraved by Mr Richard Earlom*, issued in 1789 by Boydell, with plates in imitation of ink and chalk drawings, engraved in aquatint and stipple; some were reproduced in two colours, showing that it was possible to produce the effect of chiaroscuro by copperplate as well as by

[1] In a letter to Dr Trusler printed by Mr Arthur Symons (*William Blake*, pp. 116-9) Blake writes, "Chalk Engraving is at least Six Times as laborious as Aqua Tinta."

wood. Another set of reproductions, not in aquatint, is John Chamberlaine's well-known *Imitations of Original Drawings by Hans Holbein*, eighty-four examples of stipple, printed in colours and published in 1792-1800. His next book, *Original Designs of the most Celebrated Masters of the Bolognese, Roman, Florentine and Venetian Schools*, was first prepared for publication in 1796, and the original title-page is dated 1797; but in 1812 it was issued in a complete edition with the title-page of 1797, *Engravings from the Original Designs by Annibale, Agostino and Ludovico Caracci*, affixed as a sub-title. Of the 45 plates in the book 25 are aquatint, and all are printed in one colour only, either sepia, brown, indigo or Bartolozzi red. Bartolozzi engraved 22 of the plates, F. C. Lewis 9, P. W. Tomkins 4, G. Lewis 3, Pastorini 3, Schiavonetti 2, and Facius and Stephanoff one each. Lastly comes a superb book by C. M. Metz, *Imitations of Ancient and Modern Drawings from the Restoration of the Arts in Italy to the Present Time*, published in 1798, though the title-page has no date. Conrad Martin Metz, born at Bonn in 1755, was an engraver and pupil of Bartolozzi in London, and probably executed all the 115 plates himself; a large proportion are in aquatint, though stipple and etching are used in others, and some are in a mixed process. Various inks are employed for the different plates, which are printed in a single tone, as in the preceding book, but there are two coloured ones of great charm, a hunting scene by Titian in two colours, and more notable still, a reproduction in

aquatint of a drawing of a woman by Albert Dürer, dated 1500, which is printed in three colours.

In this short account of the experimenters in the processes of colour printing the name of Johann Gottlieb Prestel (1739-1808) cannot be omitted. Like Ploos, Metz and Earlom he devoted his efforts to making the works of the old masters accessible to the public. His chief works are the reproduction of drawings from the two private collections of Gerard Joachim Schmidt and Paul Praun, the last-named having forty-eight plates and the first thirty. The volume devoted to the Schmidt Collection is in the British Museum and is entitled *Dessins des meilleurs peintres des Pays Bas d'Allemagne et d'Italie du Cabinet de Monsieur Gérard Joachim Schmidt à Hambourg, gravés d'après les originaux de même grandeur par Jean Théophile Prestel, Peintre*, 1779. The plates include many fine strong aquatints in the chiaroscuro style, some in more than one printing. Prestel married his pupil Maria Catherine Höll, daughter of the engraver of that name, who helped him with some of his best original plates, especially the landscapes. She separated from him in 1786 and came with her daughter to England, where she produced some plates which are etched with spirit and finished in aquatint in a picturesque manner. She died in London in 1794, leaving some seventy-three signed plates after Italian, Dutch and German masters.

These great books of reproductions are worthy of careful study, so different are they from the mass of work on which aquatint was later employed; and though the process came, as we shall see, to be

associated with the literature of topography, costume and the like, these examples serve as a reminder that it was equally appropriate to the fine arts, though the rise of water-colour painting and public taste both demanded its employment in the humbler sphere of book illustration.

In conclusion it may be interesting to note that the foundation plate in George Baxter's elaborate colour process was usually aquatint. Before he applied for his patent in 1835 he had printed solely from wood-blocks; after that date he used the wood-blocks only to produce a series of colours on the impressions taken from a preliminary copper or steel plate, generally the latter, engraved either in aquatint or mezzotint. He was not really entitled to a patent for any invention, for others before him, notably Kirkall, Pond and Knapton, had applied colour by means of wood-blocks to impressions from metal plates. His originality lay in two points. No one before him had made use of the aquatint process in this manner; and no one had attempted the printing in oil colours on impressions from an aquatint plate. If a strong glass be used, the aquatint ground of his prints is obvious enough, and the revival of interest in his work affords ample opportunity for such investigation.

CHAPTER III

THE USE OF AQUATINT IN FRANCE AND THE AQUATINT WORK OF GOYA

In the previous Chapter we brought the account of the development of colour printing abroad down to J. G. Prestel and his reproductions of drawings from private collections; we shall resume it here with François Janinet (1752-1813), who in the early days of the reign of Louis XVI. began to employ the aquatint process in a manner different from that in which we have seen it used in England. If St Non and Le Prince actually introduced the method in France, Janinet was certainly the first Frenchman to create for it a definite place in the art of engraving as practised in that country. He was not an original artist, nearly all his work consisting of reproductions after Boucher, Fragonard, Lavreince, Caresme, Gravelot, St Quentin and Hubert Robert, but he took the pictures of these masters and reproduced them in colour, blending the tints on a foundation of aquatint by means of a surprising technique. His early plate *l'Operateur* has the legend—"gravé à l'imitation du lavis en couleur par F. Janinet, le seul qui ait trouvé cette manière," thus adding his name to the many who aspired to the invention of colour printing from aquatint plates. His portrait of Marie Antoinette,

executed in 1774, one of the most celebrated of colour prints, has the head retouched by hand in nearly all the proofs, an indication that he was not sufficiently sure of his methods at that time to trust to colour printings alone. It is a very fine work, marred by being set in a border engraved in imitation of a gilt and marble frame. Another and later effort, possibly that in which he shows most mastery of his art, is the portrait of Mdlle. Bertin, the queen's dressmaker, a small oval medallion in which vivid portraiture is associated with obvious dexterity of execution. Landscape came as easily to Janinet as portraits, and his aquatint imitations of the clear water-colours of Ostade are particularly successful. His engraved work indeed covers a wide range of subject and interest. For the brothers Le Campion, who were both engravers and printsellers, aided by Guyot, Chapuy and Roger, he did a charming series of one hundred and two small circular views, entitled *Monuments de Paris*, of extraordinarily fine ground and great delicacy of colour. A set was to be seen in London not long since, priced at £42. Another work, very different in character, was the illustration for Le Vachez's monthly journal *Costumes et Annales des Grands Théâtres de Paris*, an ambitious attempt to give representations of the chief actors and actresses, details of their life, an account of first nights and reviews of new pieces. The Le Vachez were printsellers in the Palais Royal, No. 258, then the centre of fashion in Paris, and dealt in the colour prints of the day from a standpoint commercial rather than artistic; their shop, however, was the haunt of both amateurs and artists,

many of whom owed much to their enterprise. The control of the illustrations was confided to Janinet, who signed most of the plates.

Some twenty-five years back, a portfolio full of colour prints was discovered in Alsace which turned out to be a collection of artists' proofs of Janinet's engravings, one of which, *L'Aveu difficile*, found a place in the Muhlbacher Collection, and at its dispersal realized £120.

Janinet's ambition at one period extended beyond the limitations of engraving; and had it achieved its object, the output of his work would have been much more limited than it was. The passion for ballooning was then at its height in France, and Janinet with his friend the Abbé Miollan constructed a machine much larger than any that had been hitherto built. On the day fixed for its ascension from the Luxembourg Gardens, July 11, 1784, the entrance fee to the public was fixed at £3, but the balloon could not be inflated, the angry public broke down the barriers and burned the balloon, and for many days after the disaster Janinet and the Abbé were the victims of lampoons and caricatures of every sort. In the end the engraver returned to his art, and, putting behind him this unfortunate episode in his career, produced in subsequent years his most careful and elaborate plates.

His system, like that of his contemporary and rival Debucourt, was to prepare a foundation plate in aquatint which gave the modelling of the design. This was complete in itself, and sufficed for all tone values, giving an adequate rendering of the subject in monochrome. He then prepared several other plates of the same size,

each of which was to receive a separate colour. By the most careful adjustment or registration, the marks of which are often to be seen on French prints, these plates were printed one over the other, the quality of the result depending entirely upon the harmonious blending of the colours by the artist and the technical ability of the printer who aided him in the handling of the plates. Sometimes Janinet strengthened the aquatint ground by roulette work on the copper, a practice occasionally adopted by other engravers, both in aquatint and mezzotint: but it interferes with that transparency which is the charm of aquatint, and the plates of Debucourt, who in his best days hardly resorted to it at all, are in consequence more brilliant than those of his rival.

Janinet had many pupils, the most important of them being Jean Baptiste Chapuy (1760-18?) and Charles Melchior Descourtis (1753-1820). Chapuy, as has been mentioned, helped Janinet in his *Costumes des Théâtres de Paris*, and when the affair of the Diamond Necklace became public, executed a series of portraits of the actors in that drama. But his most entertaining work lies in the fourteen plates of *Coiffures de Dames* done for Depain, a hairdresser in the Rue de Condé, "qui enseignait l'art de coiffer au moment où les dames avait cessé d'édifier sur leur têtes des labyrinthes et des frégates pour adopter la coiffure à "espoir et la coiffure aux charmes de la liberté."[1]

Descourtis, who, though far below his master, yet worked in Janinet's manner and with a like delicacy in the harmony of tints, has a far higher reputation

[1] Portalis, *Graveurs du XVIII. Siècle.*

than Chapuy. His best known prints are a series of four: *Foire de Village*, *Noces de Village*, *La Rixe* and *Le Tambourin*, after Taunay. He also did two views from water colours by Machy: *Vue du Porte St Paul* and *Vue de la Porte St Bernard*, as well as illustrations to *Paul et Virginie* and to *Don Quixote*, after the designs of Schall. The Marquis de Varennes, a pupil of Descourtis, who gave lessons in London during the emigration, collected a set of the trial proofs of the *Noces de Village*, comprising the etched outline, the same completed in aquatint, and each one of the successive colour impressions down to the finished print, ten states in all, showing the technical 'composition' of the whole work. Such a collection is most rare, as the different stages, having no individual artistic merit, have scarcely ever been preserved.

Louis-Philibert Debucourt (1755-1832) "l'un des talents les plus fins et les plus français de la seconde moitié du XVIII. siècle," as Portalis describes him, began life as a painter of genre and domestic scenes. He had thus an advantage over Janinet in being a creative artist and not only an engraver of the works of others. By an early marriage with the daughter of the sculptor Mouchy his position in the world of art was assured, and on the strength of his pictures of small subjects in the Flemish style, he obtained admission to the Academy at the age of twenty-six. The popularity of these studies, and no doubt the example of Janinet, suggested to him the possibility of their multiplication as colour prints, and he very soon began experiments in that direction.

Of the many French engravers who used aquatint as a foundation for their colour prints during the short period between 1780 and 1815 Debucourt is the one who is best known outside his own country, owing to his inimitable representation of Parisian manners both before and during the Revolution. To this he brought a keen intuition of the characteristics of his countrymen, which he rendered with ironical humour, a remarkable power of grouping in composition and a delicate sense of colour. In 1786 he published *Les deux Baisers*, but his first masterpiece was the *Menuet de la Mariée*, the illusive likeness of which to an original drawing is so eloquently described by the Goncourts.[1]

The following year appeared the *Promenade de la Galerie du Palais Royal*, the first of the two plates that made his reputation, inspired, so it has been suggested, by a sight of the aquatint engraving of Vauxhall by Pollard and Jukes, after a drawing by Rowlandson. Chapuy, whose work has been already mentioned, was the printer of this famous scene, in which Debucourt reached once and for all the high-water mark of printing in colours. Few who visit that great square of garden and buildings in its present desolation can imagine it as it once was, the rendezvous of the fashionable world, frequented at once by the élite of Paris, the foreigner and the courtesan, the noble and the peasant, jostling one against the other while looking at the shops already famous for the frivolities so long to be associated with the name of Palais Royal. To that mixed society, soon to be swept away by the tide of the Revolution, with its

[1] *L'art du XVIII. Siècle.* E. and J. de Goncourt. Paris, 1873-74.

pictures of manners, its variety of costume, its portrait-groups, bizarre, elegant, grotesque, Debucourt brought the vision of an artist and the subtle observation of a student of human nature. It was not till 1792 that he drew the pendant to it in the *Promenade publique des Jardins du Palais Royal.* More complicated in composition, the scene is perhaps even more carefully studied; the individuals, as well as the types, stand out with greater distinctness, the detail is almost over elaborate, and the costumes are rendered with insight into the charm of fashion as well as its absurdity. In these two plates the artist triumphed over all the technical difficulties of colour printing and attained to a perfection that successive engravers could only hope to imitate, never to surpass.

The *Mercure de France* of June 1787 had announced the publication of the *Promenade du Palais Royal* at the price of £12; in 1881 a fine impression fetched £63, and one of the *Promenade publique* only a little less. In the six years that separated the first of the Palais Royal plates from the second, Debucourt executed all the other plates on which his great reputation rests:—the *Matinée du Jour de l'An*, the *Fête de la Grand'maman*,—a work of great and intimate charm for which he painted the picture before making the print,—the *Noces au Château*, which forms a pair to the *Menuet de la Mariée*, and *La Rose* and *La Main*, two plates that are marvels of delicate and superb execution. He manipulates the five or six separate plates that go to the making of the finished print as easily as a juggler does his balls, and with the sense of difficulties overcome all appearance of

the technique of the engraver disappears, leaving the freshness and transparency of a water-colour drawing. But Debucourt made many and careful experiments with every plate before reaching perfection, and the rare prints in black pulled at the experimental stages of his work show him to have been a laborious craftsman, as well as a master of aquatint.

With the advent of the Revolution Debucourt applied his art to its service, and in 1791 produced the remarkable composition known as *L'Almanach national*, which he dedicated to 'the friends of the Constitution.' Having no political opinions himself, he served every party with equal readiness, and became the artist of the Directoire and the Empire, as lightly as he had been that of the Revolution. But the best of his work ends with the eighteenth century. In the general *débâcle* that followed the great upheaval of society, his pencil, hitherto subtle and restrained in the portraiture of manners, sank into buffoonery and caricature ; the artist became the artisan, ceasing to select his material, engraving everything alike, horses, battle-scenes, landscapes, in short all the mixed and inferior work for which he was offered a price. His exquisite draughtsmanship also underwent a change for the worse, for he introduced into his technique a mixture of processes which greatly injured the result, and only a rare plate like that of the *Café Frascati*, taken from a sketch made at the height of its fashion during the Empire, serves as a reminder of the greatness of his former achievement. He devoted his old age to interpreting the works of Carle Vernet, who was candid enough to realize that his reputation rested largely on

THE CAFÊ FRASCATI.
By Louis Philibert Debucourt.

the popularity of his engraver. "Croyez au veritable attachement que je porte à votre personne," he says in a letter to Debucourt, "et à la vénération reconnaissante que j'ai pour votre talent, je dis reconnaissante, car sans vous mon faible savoir-faire serait resté dans un cercle étroit dont vous avez centuplé la circonference." In the early part of his career Debucourt lived for twelve and a half years in the Palais Royal, where he brought up the only child of a marriage which had lasted but fifteen months. Of this son, who died at the age of eighteen, just as he was developing artistic talent, Debucourt has left a charming aquatint portrait, a print of which is now very scarce. Not long afterwards he married Mdlle. Marquant, the aunt of his pupil Jazet, and in his later years took with enthusiasm to country life in the suburbs of Paris. He ended his long life in the house of Jazet, to whom we owe the careful preservation of the experimental prints that have come down to us, as well as the record of much that is valuable relating to his life.

Between Debucourt and the engravers in colour who followed him there is all the difference that lies between the work of a creative artist and that of the experienced craftsman who interprets the creations of others. A brief mention of the most important of them must suffice, especially as their prints are rarely to be seen in this country. The great period of colour printing in France can only indeed be fairly studied in the national collections in Paris.

Laurent Guyot (*fl.* 1756) began life as an engraver, but, lacking the talent necessary to success in pure

engraving, he betook himself to printing in colours, and executed some charming miniature work after Fragonard, that artist so essentially French, whose delicate and fantastic imaginings were rendered by a palette equally light and appropriate. The success of the colour engraving of this period was indeed largely due to the character of the art of the time, to which aquatint was especially suitable, and to the French masters of the eighteenth century in general, whose work was a constant spur to the engraver. Guyot's prints gain a certain originality from his preference for round and oval forms. He did two sets of illustrations for *Paul et Virginie*, a round one for the octavo edition, and another for a duodecimo edition. Another well-known series is the set of oval medallions entitled *Événements de la Révolution.* These are perhaps his best efforts, and as book illustrations are specially interesting, for, in consequence of the number of plates used by French engravers for their colour work, the aquatint process was much less frequently applied to books in France than in England. Guyot also engraved the *Cris et Costumes de Paris* after the designs of Watteau de Lille, a delightful record of that painter of pre-Revolution costume.

Antoine François Sergent (1751-1847) was one among many artists who became embroiled in French politics during the Revolution, and is perhaps better known for his violent adoption of the most sanguinary methods of the time and for the romance of his life than for the small quantity of really fine work that he achieved. A native of Chartres, he learnt engraving in

Paris under Augustin de St Aubin, but returned to his birthplace to be near Emira Marceau, sister of the General of that name, whom he had loved from childhood, and who had been married at the age of fourteen to M. de Cernel, a brutal and jealous husband. Emira finally escaped to a convent, where she remained till the death of her husband about 1789 enabled her to become the wife of Sergent. The history of this tragedy gave rise to a curious incident more to the credit of Sergent's dramatic instinct than to his taste as a lover. Sergent, who had long pursued Restif de la Bretonne with a view to illustrating his works, wrote him a long and eloquent account of the charms of the lady, describing the unthinkable brutality of the husband and the hopeless passion of the youth who worshipped afar while encouraging the wife to remain with her husband. No names were mentioned, and the narrative was obviously intended for Restif's use as an author, but in the end Sergent was made to admit that he was the youth in question. In order to provide opportunities for their intercourse Sergent had given Emira instruction in engraving, and after she became his wife she helped him with his aquatints, besides doing independent work in colours and engraving buttons, a humble branch of art which many more important artists were not above practising. She did some plates in Sergent's historical series entitled *Collection de Portraits des grands Hommes, des Femmes illustres et Sujets mémorables de France* (1787-9), which was published by Le Vachez in conjunction with Blin, one of the great colour printers of the day. Ridé also did some of the plates for this work, while

Sergent co-operated with Ridé and Alix in the *Recherches sur les Costumes et les Théâtres de toutes les Nations.* After executing a few small prints of events during the Revolution, Sergent laid aside art for politics and was subsequently associated with some of the most bloody events of the period. During this time he gained the sobriquet of "Sergent l'Agate" from having, it was said, acquired for a trifling sum, a valuable antique cameo found on one of his victims; the charge was never proved, but his reputation was permanently tarnished by the story. Exiled by Bonaparte he went to live in Italy, where he again took to engraving. His wife shared all his wanderings, and the devotion of each to the other seems to have survived all the fortunes of Sergent's long and varied career. She died thirteen years before her husband at the age of eighty, and Sergent, who lived to ninety-six, spent the last years of his life in trying to free himself from the accusations of his enemies and in retracing with the pen of his old age the portraits of his wife drawn in youth with such passion, and under circumstances so different.

With Pierre Michel Alix (1762-1817) we may bring to a conclusion this short account of the French School of aquatint engravers in colour. With one or two exceptions the reputation of Alix is based more on the fact that he applied his art chiefly to popular portraiture than on the quality of that art itself. His small oval portraits of his contemporaries are very numerous and may frequently be found in the shops of London printsellers. He chose his subjects without respect of politics or persons, and from 1789 to the Restoration we

find a whole gallery of portraits that mark the changing fortunes of France. Beginning with Marie Antoinette, of whom he made one of the finest as well as rarest of existing colour portrait prints, with the advent of the Terror he destroyed the work that might have compromised him, if discovered, and painted instead Marat and Charlotte Corday; later still, with the downfall of Robespierre, he passed on to the triumph of the Republic and the Directorate, then to portraits of the three Consuls and of Napoleon, and ended with plates commemorative of the entry of Louis XVIII., and the birth of the Duc de Berry.

There is a copy in the British Museum of the *Recherches sur les Costumes et sur les Théâtres de toutes les Nations tant anciennes que modernes*, Paris, 1790, with aquatint illustrations by Alix after drawings by Chéry. The colour of the plates is soft and delicate, the effect of the dust ground being very different from that which results from the more open grain of the spirit ground. He seems to have undertaken a series of plates in illustration of *Don Quixote*, for a letter is extant shewing that he received £28 for the third plate of the series, but there is no record of the completion of the set. Alix also executed a series of oval portraits of the French classical writers, and it is by these empty and commonplace prints that, much to the damage of his reputation, he is chiefly known in England. It is, however, by the portraits of Marie Antoinette, Madame St Aubin, Barras and the Consuls that he must be judged, and these place him in the first rank of colour engravers.

Series of medallion portraits similar to those of Alix were fashionable throughout the period of the Revolution, and both Louis Jean Allais and his wife Angélique Briceau, the daughter of an engraver, executed a considerable number in aquatint. Her prints were of the same size and type as those of Alix, but have even less distinction in the rendering of character. The most effective of all the medallion portraits of the Revolution are probably those of Villeneuve, also an engraver of aquatints printed in colours.

Whilst on the subject of aquatint as applied to portraiture, we must not omit to mention the miniature work of Jean Baptiste Grateloup (1735-1817), which is among the curiosities of engraving in black and white. These prints are the outcome of a mixed process, the secret of which has never been made public, for it was confided by Grateloup to his nephew, who studied under him, on the understanding that it should not be revealed. The plates were said to be steel, and appear to have had a basis of aquatint with additions in mezzotint or dry point. Grateloup, whose early taste for printing and sculpture had secured for him a reputation among the artists of his day, was at the head of a business in precious stones and accustomed to design personal ornaments for his customers, which were executed by jewellers under his direction. He was very short-sighted, and thus better able to deal with the microscopic detail of his miniature portraits than if he had had ordinary vision; but at the age of thirty-five he developed cataract, and had to lay aside engraving. His first portrait is dated about 1765, and his total output of

nine was achieved at odd times in the intervals of business during the next five or six years. These plates include one of Fénélon, one of Dryden after Kneller, and two of Bossuet after Rigaud, the latter being the only ones with which he himself was really satisfied. The tracery of the lace on Bossuet's dress is a marvel of execution, and, as miniature work, the prints stand alone in the history of engraving. A strong glass clearly reveals the presence of aquatint, though its use by Grateloup on these plates has been sometimes disputed.

From the earliest times aquatint was frequently used in combination with etching. As a rule, however, mixed methods in any branch of art have not proved themselves desirable, for the eye, accustomed to the scope and limitations of one process, is distracted by passing to another with a different object and method of attainment. And in a general way aquatint is no exception to this rule, for the pure aquatint plate, where form is given by variation of tone only, is a more satisfactory thing than one in which the outline of the subject is first etched. Nevertheless some artists combined the two with ingenuity and success, and the practice was particularly useful when the original artist did not do his own aquatint work on the copper, for in that case he sometimes etched the outline, and so left less to the interpretation of the copying engraver.

One man, however, raised the combination of etching with aquatint to a position of surpassing merit. Francisco Goya (1746-1828) will always remain the master of mixed aquatint engraving, and his work should be

carefully studied by all interested in the legitimate scope of aquatint engraving. He stands, sublime and solitary, as much apart from other men in his engraved work as in his pictures; so Spanish in his outlook as to be almost incomprehensible, except to the few whose instinct for genius at its highest triumphs over the limitations of time and country. A Court favourite and painter of princes, but more surely in sympathy with the people, to whom by birth he belonged, his independence of character and insight into the springs of human nature made him the satirist alike of high and low. The romance of his life, with its adventures and gallantries; the boldness with which he attacked the Inquisition, from which he narrowly escaped, and the vices of the Court to which he was attached; the force and strangeness of his style—all have made him a figure tantalizing to discuss and difficult to interpret. None of his many critics have satisfactorily decided whether he was in the main a humanitarian attacking fanaticism and superstition, a freethinker sharing in the dissoluteness of a corrupt age and country, a Titan laughing at the race of mortals, or a superb artist whose imagination played impartially with the varied material of life. Théophile Gautier, alone, has had the courage to say that the meaning and moral of his work remains in obscurity. In his overwhelming imagination he possessed an equipment that would have ensured the reputation of a dozen great artists, and in his technical dexterity a sureness of hand that made it a matter of indifference with what tools or what materials he worked.

It was in 1793, but a short time after the discovery of the aquatint process, that Goya began *Los Caprichos*, a series of seventy-two (eighty?) plates in etching and aquatint, which were produced between 1793(4) and 1769(7). He was then nearly fifty years of age, and the output of his work was already vast, both in character and amount. Designs for tapestries, frescoes and religious pictures in churches and convents, popular scenes from everyday life, portraits of nobles and great ladies, all had been poured forth with the stamp of his astounding personality. The same qualities of violence of conception and cruelty of execution, with here and there gleams of undeniable beauty, even of charm, that characterize the majority of his paintings are seen also in his engraved work. *The Caprices* show humanity in its most brutal aspects, and were undoubtedly a bitter satire on the corruption of the Church and the intrigues of the Court, in which he spared neither Charles IV. nor Maria Louisa and her favourite Godoy, nor the Duchess de Bonavente, with each and all of whom his own relations had been of the most intimate nature. Goya knew better than to leave any key for the identification of the plates, and the legend that he wrote for each was a careful indication that its subject was applicable to humanity as a whole. But the irony and the portraiture were so obvious that the Inquisitors were soon at work tracking out the allusions to personal and political intrigues, when Don Carlos, whether ignorant of their real import or wise enough to overlook it, ordered the painter to make over to him the whole of the plates as *executed by royal command.*

Another series of eighty-two plates, the *Desastres de la Guerra*, by many considered the most important etched work of Goya, dates probably from 1810, the period of the occupation of Spain by the French. They were undoubtedly suggested to the artist by the sight of his own country under foreign government during the short reign of Joseph Bonaparte, but the treatment is so universalized that there are no details to indicate any particular national disaster. They convey to the spectator the nightmare of war seen in the blackness and horror of dreams, and possess that mixture of fascination and repulsion which pervades so much of the painter's work. They constitute indeed the most impassioned diatribe against war ever formulated by pen or brush, and the very fact that they are removed from the individual and the particular lifts them into the sphere of the epic. Goya, who had lived quietly abroad during the expulsion of the French from Spain, dared not excite his indignant countrymen by the issue of these plates; after his death, they were forgotten, nor did they see the light until 1863, when the Academy of San Fernando brought out an edition of eighty plates, the two in Lefort's collection not being included. In twenty-eight of them there is no aquatint whatever, and where it is employed the ground is somewhat heavy and the contrasts are harsh and without the subtle gradations of tone found in the three other series.

The eighteen plates of the *Proverbios*, or *Suenos* (dreams) as Goya himself entitled them, are in a similar though more obscure vein of satire to that of the

El famoso Martincho vuelca un toro en la Plaza de Madrid.

Caprichos, and though executed probably between 1810 and 1815, were not issued till 1864 by the Academy of San Fernando.

Lastly comes the series of the *Tauromaquia*, consisting of thirty-three plates in illustration of the national sport of Spain. In these prints, which are marvels of composition, Goya shows his intimate acquaintance with the habits and movements of horses and bulls, an acquaintance gained personally in his youth, when his enthusiasm for physical prowess led him to join a wandering troupe in order to raise money for his sojourn in Rome. He himself issued a small number of impressions in 1815, a second edition was published by the Calcografia Nacional in 1855, with the portrait of Goya from the *Caprichos*, and about 1876 they reappeared in a French edition with seven additional plates.

Unlike the work of the French School of colour printers, Goya's engravings can be studied both at the British Museum and the National Art Library, and the bibliographical detail of the various impressions necessary to the collector will be found in the books by Hoffmann, Lefort, Beraldi and others mentioned in the appendix containing the list of authorities consulted.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF WATER-COLOUR PAINTING AND THE TOPOGRAPHICAL DRAUGHTSMAN

MUCH has been written of the rise of water-colour painting, of its early exponents, and the rich development of its later schools, too often, however, accompanied by unnecessary depreciation of the "tinted drawings" which were the precursors of paintings in transparent colour. It will not be amiss if the student of aquatint is led to an appreciation of these drawings, and he can have no pleasanter task than to wander round the South Kensington Galleries, taking as his guide Samuel Redgrave's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Collection of Water-Colour Paintings in the South Kensington Museum* (1877). Art critics have multiplied since his day, but his lucid and attractive sketch of the evolution of landscape art from topography, and the direct use of local colour from an underwash of neutral tint, has yet to be superseded.

There are three technical processes connected with painting which may be very briefly stated. In oil painting opaque pigments are used, the light which produces colour sensation being reflected from the surface of the paint. In water-colour painting, properly so called, transparent colours are used, and in this case the light,

passing first through the colour, is reflected back from the material on which that colour is spread and passes again through it to the eye. A third process may be described as opaque painting in water colours, and under the names of gouache and body colour has always existed, and preceded the invention of painting in oils. With the latter we have nothing to do here, but some of the earliest water-colour artists, William Taverner, an amateur, who died in 1772, George Barret, R.A., the elder, who died in 1784, Paul Sandby and others, used tempera or body colour for painting their landscapes. Aquatints even did not always escape this usage, for certain of Paul Sandby's Windsor series of drawings, coloured by hand as English aquatints always were, show washes of body colour.

Most of the delicate sketches of the draughtsmen in the last half of the eighteenth century, however, were made with pigments ground in water, that is to say with transparent colours and without the addition of white or body colour. In the earliest times they were in monochrome, and as such are sometimes named chiaroscuro drawings. To the outline made either with pencil or with a reed pen and ink washes of grey or brown were added, giving the forms in light or dark but in one colour only, most often in Indian ink. In the next stage a sense of aerial perspective was obtained by using two colours, brown and grey, and treating the near objects with the warmer and the distant with the cooler tint. Then came a third stage, in which a few local colours were somewhat tentatively added to the ground already prepared with a neutral tint. This

period was of considerable duration and includes the most attractive of the "stained" or "tinted" drawings as they were classified in the early catalogues of the Royal Academy. They have, it is true, been often likened to coloured prints, and there is some foundation for the analogy, though hardly in the sense of disparagement generally implied. The common ground of similarity may be gathered from the process of producing a finished aquatint print described in the first chapter. But we may repeat here that in both cases the process was a double one: in the first the artist produced his shaded drawing in a neutral tint and then added to this a few transparent colours, in the second the printer gave the forms of light and dark and the hand-colourer gave the local tints in transparent washes; and when three colours were used in printing an aquatint, the method followed that employed by Cozens and most of his contemporaries in suggesting by neutral tints the general scheme of light and shade. The groundwork in the aquatint, as in the drawing, was laid in two or three tints—a brown for the foreground, a green, brown or mixture of blue and brown for the middle distance, and a blue tint for extreme distance and sky. The draughtsmen who practised the stained drawing in its simplest form, and whose work we come across as having been engraved in aquatint are William Gilpin (1724-1804); Paul Sandby, R.A. (1725-1809); Thomas Malton (1726-1801); Samuel H. Grimm (1734-1794); William Pars, A.R.A. (1742-1782); John Cleveley (1745-1786); John Webber, R.A. (1752-1793); and Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827). The more elaborate of these drawings came to be known as 'tinted,'

LONDON BRIDGE.

From Boydell's *History of the River Thames* (1794).

but they differ from 'stained' drawings only in having more local colour added transparently to the grey ground. In the work of John Cleveley (1745-1786); Robert Cleveley (*d.* 1809); Thomas Malton, junior (1748-1804), and the later work of Edward Dayes (*d.* 1804) will be found good examples of the tinted drawing which will show the link it forms between the stained drawing and the true water-colour painting. The work of each of these artists is represented in aquatint either in single prints or in the form of book illustration. Finally came the transition from the tinted drawing to the water-colour painting proper—a transition characterized by the use of true local colour direct, without the previous groundwork of a neutral tint. This transition took a long time to effect, even when the shadow tint or groundwork had come to be composed of three tints, as was frequently the case towards the end of the progress made by English water colour from monochrome through the stage of neutral tints to full local colour. Very gradually was the shaded tint disused, and though J. R. Cozens (1752-1799), in his later drawings, would seem to have almost entirely freed himself from it, emancipation from a ground tint is habitually first associated with the names of Girtin and Turner.

The ready acceptance of aquatint engraving was largely due to its facility and accuracy in the rendering of water-colour paintings, and the relation between them cannot be better expressed than in the words of W. H. Pyne,[1] when writing of Varley's *Treatise on the Principles of Landscape Design, with General Obser-*

[1] *Somerset House Gazette*, vol. i., On Painting in Water Colours.

vations and Instructions to Young Artists, illustrated with sixteen highly finished views;—"Mr Varley has designed a series of compositions for the instruction of amateurs, which are engraved by Mr George Lewis with strict adherence to the style of the master. These are executed in aquatinta, a species of engraving eminently calculated for imitating that flatness of tint, or distinct massing of light and shadow, which render the works of Mr Varley so truly *preceptive;* and here it may be observed, that amateurs, who wish to attain to those indispensable qualities in landscape drawing, flatness of washing, and distinctiveness of masses, cannot adopt a readier method than by carefully copying from the best aquatinta prints; for the process of that style of engraving lays the grounds so flat, so even, so distinctly, and preserves the lights so sharp and clear, which is so difficult in drawing, unless wrought with great care, that the practice may be urged as the very best means of preserving the lights with sparkling effect and avoiding that careless execution which is too common, upon the presumption that such lights may be obtained by taking them out by a wet pencil and bread."

The connection between aquatint engraving and water-colour drawing then is so close that we must devote a short space to the consideration of those tinted drawings out of which English water-colour art was shortly and rapidly to develope.

The stained or tinted drawing was the method by which the topographer rendered architecture and landscape, generally with a view to the engraver who was

subsequently to interpret him in black and white. His practice was first to make an outline in pencil or pen and ink of the main architectural features of his work, rendering the necessary accessories of foliage and scenery more according to a stereotyped plan than from the point of view of a student of nature. To this outline he added washes of Indian ink, sepia or grey, which gave the different gradations of light and shade. Sometimes the outline disappeared with repeated washes, at others it was emphasized by the reed pen. Both methods may be observed in the work of the draughtsmen of the last part of the eighteenth century. In order to appreciate the position and importance of this school of artists, for artists they assuredly were though in a restricted field, it is well to recall certain features in the history of their time. Two such stand out with special prominence as directing the artistic instincts of the age and defining the uses to which art was applied, firstly the taste for archæology and antiquarian research at home and abroad, which had sprung up about the middle of the eighteenth century, and secondly the "discovery" of nature as a source of the picturesque which followed, though at some distance, upon it. To the first we owe the fine antiquarian literature which resulted from the labours of Pennant, 'Athenian' Stuart, and the rest; to the second the fashion of "views" with which aquatint was subsequently so largely concerned. Moreover it was a time in which architecture enjoyed more consideration than it has ever done since, and if, as we must assume from extant records, it was chiefly inspired by classical models

abroad and showed but little inclination towards a national style, its supremacy among the fine arts was undisputed and public interest in it undoubtedly genuine. It will be thus easily understood that the draughtsman who could produce careful drawings of buildings and faithfully transcribe nature was much in request and had ample scope for his efforts. He was invited to make tours through the British Isles and to produce pictorial representations of abbeys and castles, fashionable watering-places and pastoral scenes that could be multiplied by the engraver, and so satisfy the public demand for "views"—a new word coined to meet the needs of a new taste. Explorers took him on voyages of discovery in distant parts of the world that he might picture their adventures, as many of the fine books to be noticed later record, books that are still among the most attractive of works of travel from the freshness of their narrative as well as from the quality of their illustrations.

In this way John Clevely (1745-1786) accompanied Mr, afterwards Sir Joseph, Banks on his tour in Iceland in 1772, and two years later went with Captain Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, on an exploring expedition to the north seas. John Webber, R.A. (1752-1792) sailed with Captain Cook on his third and last voyage, and witnessed his death, which he subsequently recorded in a print engraved by Bartolozzi and Byrne. A. W. Devis (1763-1822), while draughtsman to the East India Company, was wrecked in the Pellew Islands; William Westall, A.R.A. (1781-1850), again, when a probationer at the Royal Academy, was selected at the age of eighteen to sail as landscape

MARGATE FROM THE PARADE.

From *Picturesque Scenery of Great Britain* (1801) by P. J. de Loutherbourg.

draughtsman to Captain Flinders on his voyage of Australian discovery.

Other artists accompanied foreign missions like Julius Cæsar Ibbetson (1759-1817), who joined Colonel Cathcart's embassy to China in 1788; he came back, however, empty-handed, as the ambassador died on the voyage and the vessel returned home. Another embassy to the same country four years later was to prove most fruitful in pictorial results. In 1792 William Alexander (1767-1816) went thither with Lord Macartney and illustrated Sir George Staunton's account of the country and its inhabitants. Thomas Hearne (1744-1817) went to the Leeward Islands with their first governor, Sir Ralph Payne, afterwards Lord Lavington, in 1771, and spent altogether five years in sketching the scenery of the West Indies. In William Havell (1782-1857) China had once more an important draughtsman. In 1816 he accompanied Lord Amherst's embassy to the interior of that country, but seems to have left the ship in consequence of some disagreement and to have gone on to India, where he remained eight years. With a single exception, his name is not associated with any of the illustrations to either of the accounts of the journey published in 1819; it is as a painter of the Thames and Lake scenery that he made his reputation.

The fashionable ambition of the period, to be a patron of the arts, gave further scope to the topographer. An acquaintance with art was part of the education of every gentleman of fashion in those days, to be gained, if possible, by the grand tour, but in any case by an association with architects and artists.

Every nobleman who travelled took an artist in his train, to make studies of antiquities or scenery, according to the taste of the patron. It was thus that John Robert Cozens (1752-1799) made his first visit to Italy in 1776 with R. Payne Knight, and his second in 1782 under the patronage of William Beckford, author of *Vathek* (1781-1782), the wealthy owner of Fonthill Abbey, at that time a very youthful author and dilettante. The Earl of Warwick, who, as the Hon. Charles Greville, had taken Paul Sandby on several sketching tours, took John Smith (1749-1831) also to Italy, whence that artist was later distinguished from others of his name by the preface of "Italian" or "Warwick" Smith. Lord Palmerston took William Pars, A.R.A. (1742-1782) to Switzerland and Rome, and the members of the Dilettanti Society employed him to sketch for them in Greece.

Nor was it otherwise at home, though the first impulse towards a rendering of local scenery in water colour came about by accident. No chapter in the history of the Wedgwoods and their pottery is more interesting than their connection with Russia. "Lord Cathcart," says Mrs Meteyard in her *Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, "had introduced to the notice of the Empress Catherine Wedgwood's exquisite yet unservile copies of antique art; and she had probably seen at the ambassador's or her nobles' tables, that an English manufacturer had been the first to unite in modern days obvious utility and simple grace. Through his agency, and that of the merchants of St Petersburg, she adorned her palaces with the finest vases, bas-reliefs and gems Wedgwood

and Bentley had yet produced; and soon after she commissioned Mr Baxter, the British Consul, to procure the dinner and other services completed and sent to Russia in the autumn of 1770. At the close of 1773, in imitation probably of those German princes whose favours were lavished upon the porcelain works of Dresden and Berlin, the Empress commissioned Mr Baxter, through one of her nobles, to open negotiations with Wedgwood and Bentley, for the manufacture of a vast cream-ware service, for every purpose of the table, and on which should be enamelled views of British scenery."[1]

Bentley, in announcing this royal order to Wedgwood, after speaking of the bordering patterns and the distinctive mark of the frog, which was to appear as a sign that the service was for use at the "Grenouillère," part of the Palace of Tzarskoselo, thus continues—"I have no idea of this service being got up in less than two or three years if the Landskips and buildings are to be tolerably done, so as to do any credit to us, and to be copied from pictures of real buildings and situations, nor of its being afforded for less than £1000 or £1500; why all the Gardens in England will scarcely furnish subjects sufficient for this sett, every piece having a different subject."[1] The complete account of this great work is most entertaining, and gives a very vivid picture of all the procedure that went to complete it. It must here suffice to say that, in order to procure the vast number of views necessitated by the number of pieces

[1] *Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, Eliza Meteyard, 2 vols., 1865-66; vol. ii., chap. vi.

required, Wedgwood ransacked the print shops of Boydell, Major, Cadell, Hooper and others for prints, inspected private collections, and obtained the loan of pictures from the various members of the aristocracy, who vied with each other in coming to his aid. But not only were sketches made from pictures already in existence, but real views were taken by means of a camera obscura. For weeks he employed artists to go round the country, often accompanying them himself, to take views of the gentlemen's seats, particularly in Staffordshire and Cheshire. There was much competition on the part of landowners to have their places represented, and Wedgwood had to see to it that no offence was given by leaving out those who thought they had a right to the honour. "The Gentlemen," he writes to Bentley, "seem highly pleas'd with the compliments, as they are pleased to say I am paying to them and from what I perceive in the little we have done, I could well make it worth my own while, to pursue the same plan all over the Kingdom." Feeling was so strong and interest so great that it became quite a delicate matter to assign to the largest dishes the views of the most important seats, and not to give a country squire one of the size that should properly be devoted to a peer.

But what concerns us in all this is, that artists of merit were sown broadcast over the country to make sketches; among them Devis, G. Barret, Smith, Pye the engraver, and many others of equal reputation. In all 1282 different views were provided, giving a fresh impulse to topographical drawing. When completed, the Russian service was on show for nearly two months,

and was one of the most popular sights in London. But for a time the advantage of the impulse thus given to the travelling artist was somewhat discounted by the rage for depicting gentlemen's seats, as if these constituted the only part of a landscape worth drawing. For true landscape—or rural scenery, as it was then called,—there was little demand for some time to come.

When, however, artists began to see with their own eyes, and to lay aside the spectacles of convention with which they had hitherto regarded nature, publishers also awoke to the fact that there was likewise profit for them in the new outlook. Henceforth the architectural draughtman and the landscape painter both travelled in the employment of publishers, in order to illustrate their works on topography and antiquities. Of these was the Thomas Hearne above mentioned, who, though he began life as a landscape engraver, after his return from the West Indies, devoted himself to topographical drawings, the results being eventually published in 1807 in two folio volumes, under the title of *Antiquities of Great Britain.* Thomas Malton did much the same; so did many others, such as A. Pugin, F. Nash, T. Rowlandson, and T. Uwins, who drew for the enterprising Ackermann. But enough has been said to show what a wide field lay open to the draughtsman of the time, and to account for the numbers who followed the calling with a sure prospect of employment, and, at least, a moderate remuneration, if not riches.

There remain a few other points relative to the connection between early water-colour painting and aquatint engraving which should constantly be borne in mind.

Not the least important is the fact that a large number of those who were subsequently to gain distinction as water-colour artists were trained by engravers, and made their first efforts with the burin or the needle, and not with the brush. Again, the colouring of prints was a stage in the education of many a young painter who afterwards gained distinction in his own line. Great skill and precision were consequently attained in this somewhat monotonous task and the results were frequently of a very high order. The names of the colourists are not recorded on the plates, save in the case of a few artists, whose names are given along with those of the engravers, nor is the omission surprising when we read in Repton's *Observations on Landscape Gardening* (1803): "The art of colouring plates in imitation of drawings has been so far improved of late that I have pleasure in recording obligations to Mr Clarke, under whose direction a number of children have been employed to enrich this volume." Ackermann, it is known, kept a large body of colourists employed in tinting the impressions for his many illustrated books, most of which were issued in large editions; while Turner and Girtin were as boys employed by Dayes and J. R. Smith for the same purpose. We have spoken previously of the cost and length of time involved in treating a single plate with different colours applied by dabbers, cleaning off the superfluous ink so that it does not run into the next colour, and repeating this process for every single print taken. Such a method was obviously inapplicable to books which were issued in large numbers, and the hand tinting of the prints in

batches as the edition was worked off proved a far simpler and more satisfactory plan. The artist prepared a drawing specially coloured for the purpose, and with this model before them and under the direction of the engraver, the group of colourists in the employ of the publisher commonly worked. It should be noted, however, that as the addition of hand colouring added greatly to the expense of publication, many of these books were issued in a plain state and at a much lower price. An interesting example of the method by which the artist prepared his work for the aquatint engraver is the *Sea Fights* of S. Owen, to be seen in the Print Room of the British Museum, a book which does not appear ever to have been published, though the plates are accompanied by descriptive letterpress. In this book the first four plates are engraved in colour by W. Wells after drawings by S. Owen, while the remaining twenty are coloured drawings prepared for the aquatinter, four being etched in outline as well as coloured. The size of the plates is $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$. Both in size and general character it is a fair example of the sort of work to which aquatint illustration was so largely applied at the time.

In looking down the list of painters in water colours whose work was translated into aquatint it is surprising to see how many of the names of the best known artists are absent. Not only are they unconnected with book illustration, but their work seems not to have been reproduced at all in that style of engraving. And yet it would appear to have been only by chance that aquatint was not applied in large measure to the work both of Thomas Girtin and J. M. W. Turner. Of Girtin we

have only the *Picturesque Views in Paris*, a set of twenty engravings which show how peculiarly applicable it was to the qualities of his style; had he lived longer he would probably have done more work in this manner. A criticism often passed upon aquatint engraving is that it obliterates the personal touch, and that consequently it is impossible to pick out with certainty either the work of a particular engraver or of the artist on whose drawings he was employed. While it is true that the nature of the process reduces the characteristics of the work of the average artist to a certain dead level of mediocrity, there are yet many brilliant exceptions, and amongst them may be placed the *Views in Paris*. Girtin had been apprenticed to Dayes and learnt the first elements of his trade in the laborious process of colouring his master's prints. The story of his rebellion against this wearisome occupation, his imprisonment in the Fleet as a refractory apprentice, and release by Lord Essex is well known. But his new master, John Raphael Smith, employed him on the same work, together with Turner, who had been apprenticed to Thomas Malton during the time that Girtin was with Dayes. A pleasanter aspect of contemporary patronage showed itself in men like John Henderson and Dr Monro, neighbours in Adelphi Terrace, Sir George Beaumont, and others, who not only collected drawings and pictures for their own use, but encouraged young artists to come and copy them, a privilege of inestimable profit in the absence of national collections. Girtin made a set of copies for Mr Henderson, now in the British Museum, after Hearne, Wilson, Malton, Piranesi, Canale and Morland. The skill

obtained in this severe schooling of colouring prints and copying pictures ensured a foundation of delicate and patient draftsmanship which is very obvious in Girtin's architectural drawings of Paris streets and buildings. Mr Binyon[1] has pointed out the influence of Antonio Canale upon English art, and it is not difficult to trace it in Girtin's Paris views, almost the last efforts of his short life, where he used the reed pen with such admirable effect. Ordered in 1801 to go abroad for his health, he got no further than Paris. There, though his strength was rapidly declining, he hired a carriage and drove about, sketching from the window what took his fancy, just as in earlier days he had seen and studied London from a barge. On his return home he etched the outlines of the drawings in soft ground, and the plates were handed over to F. C. Lewis (1779-1856) and othe engravers to complete in aquatint. The British Museum possesses a set of these drawings in pencil outline, probably used for the etchings, while a set of the outline etchings, washed by Girtin himself for the Earl of Essex and given by the Earl to the Duke of Bedford, is now at Woburn Abbey. Of this set five are coloured with sepia only; the others have in addition delicate tints of blues and greys, only the one of St Denis being fully coloured. Girtin returned to London in 1802 to die in the November of that year, and the *Views* were published by his brother John in 1803. How many sets were issued we do not know, but John Girtin's house was destroyed by fire, and it is said that many of his brother's works, as well as copies of the *Views*, were lost in this way, a fact

[1] *Thomas Girtin, his Life and Works.* Lawrence Binyon, 1900.

which would account for their scarcity. In 1880 a set was sold in Paris for about £13, and one was recently offered in London at a higher price.

In the interests of aquatint engraving we may be inclined to regret that Turner's original intention to have the *Liber Studiorum* engraved in that manner fell through on account of his difficulties with F. C. Lewis. When Ruskin said of Turner, "He paints in colour, but he thinks in light and shade," he phrased the characteristic that made his work peculiarly suitable to aquatint. Ruskin depreciated chiaroscuro, but a knowledge of it is essential to all engraving—more particularly to aquatint, though the nature of the process does not admit of its elaboration. The *Liber* plates began in 1807, and ended prematurely in 1819. They were intended, as is well known, to be a classification of the various styles of landscape—historic, pastoral, mountainous, marine, and architectural—and would have furnished interesting examples of the aquatint process as applied to a wide range of subjects. The work was advertised to consist of mezzotints,[1] but Turner had for some time been making experiments with all forms of engraving in order to see which of them gave the best rendering of his drawings. Aquatint had already been proved by Sandby, Girtin, and Daniell to be especially suited to the imitation of wash-drawings in sepia or bistre, and Turner appears to have had some correspondence with John Girtin on the matter. In an undated letter about the engraving of a plate he writes: "If we succeed, I should like to have them engraved like

[1] Turner's *Liber Studiorum*, W. G. Rawlinson, 2nd ed., 1906.

Mr Daniell's,"[1] referring, no doubt, to Thomas Daniell's *Oriental Scenery*, published between 1795 and 1808. Having decided on aquatint, Turner applied to F. C. Lewis, who had done most of Thomas Girtin's Paris views, to undertake the work, and Lewis started on the plate now known as *The Bridge and Goats*, which was intended to be the first of the series, but only appeared as the ninth. The drawing for this is in the National Gallery, as well as an impression of the etching coloured in sepia, as a guide for the engraver, and is more after the manner of Claude's *Liber Veritatis*, which Turner had taken as his model, than any of the others. The agreement was that Turner should first etch the outline, and that Lewis should add the imitation of the original washes in aquatint and receive £5 a plate for so doing, thus following Girtin's method of employing aquatint over an etched outline. Turner, however, on etching the first plate appears to have been dissatisfied, and, reversing the process, desired to have the masses of light and shade aquatinted first and the outline etched afterwards. Lewis making technical objections to this, Turner requested him to do the etching himself; this the engraver had no objection to doing, but, considering £5 too little for the extra work entailed by the plate, he demanded eight guineas. One of three artist brothers, Frederick Christian Lewis began his career as an aquatinter under Stadler, and in the schools of the Royal Academy. At twenty-four he had made a name for himself by engraving Girtin's *Views of Paris*, but his first great success was in the engraving of the plates

[1] Landseer, John, *The Review of Publications of Art* (1808).

of Ottley's *Italian School of Design*, which led to much similar work in the future. Lewis was very popular with the Royal Family, and held the appointment of engraver of drawings to several of its members, including Princess Charlotte and Queen Victoria. He was at the time of the negotiations with Turner in considerable demand as an engraver, and his time was much taken up with Chamberlaine's great work of engraving the paintings of Claude and other masters in the Royal Collection. Writing to John Pye on the subject in 1850, he gives this as his reason for refusing Turner's offer, coupled with the question of price, saying that he was paid fifteen to forty guineas for the Claude plates, but adding that "had Mr Turner etched the plates for me, I certainly would not have hesitated, and would gladly have done them for the low sum that he offered when first he came to me about the work." This incident was, unfortunately, not the only instance of Turner's underpayment of engravers and of his general meanness, for his namesake, Charles Turner, fared no better at his hands. The *Bridge and Goats*, Plate 43 in Mr Rawlinson's *Catalogue*, if the only aquatint plate in the *Liber*, is not the only one in which aquatint is employed, and even of this the third trial proof, which is in the British Museum, and all the finished states, have mezzotint as well. *Dunstanborough Castle*, Plate 14, has the sky aquatinted, the castle standing out in etched line. The aquatint was put in, apparently, without Turner's sanction, for the engraver's proof has the following note by him in the margin: "Sir, you have done in aquatint all the castle down to the rocks; did I ever ask for such

an indulgence?" In this plate it is interesting to see the mezzotint creeping up to the aquatint and the gradual amalgamation of the three processes—aquatint, mezzotint and etching. On Plate 44, *Calm*, aquatint is added to soft ground etching on the engraver's proofs. In Mr Rawlinson's book the reader will find many interesting comments on these plates and on Turner's experiments with aquatint; and if it must be admitted that the *Liber* is far finer in mezzotint than it could ever have been in aquatint, we must nevertheless regret that Turner made no further attempt to use the latter process for any of his plates.

CHAPTER V

PAUL SANDBY AND HIS AQUATINTA, 1725-1809

It was from J. B. Le Prince that the Hon. Charles Greville obtained the secret of aquatint engraving, and he communicated it forthwith to Paul Sandby, who in 1774 produced the first English aquatints. His earliest attempts were imitations of drawings in sepia or Indian ink, but in the following year he published his first set of coloured plates, described as *Twelve Views in Aquatinta from Drawings taken on the spot in South Wales, dedicated to the Hon. Charles Greville and Joseph Banks, Esq., by their ever grateful and much obliged servant, Paul Sandby, R.A.*

Paul Sandby was the younger of two brothers whose life and labours form an interesting chapter in the history of English art. The Sandby family came from Nottinghamshire, deriving their name from Saundby, a picturesque village on the borderland between that county and Lincolnshire. Both Thomas and Paul are said by tradition to have been born at Nottingham, the elder in 1721, the younger in 1725, and to have quitted it for London in 1741. Both seem to have begun their artistic career in the drawing room at the Tower, then the headquarters of the old Map or Survey Office for those employed as military draughtsmen under the

Master-General of the Ordnance; they were probably occupied chiefly with the execution of plans giving the outlines and hill features of different countries. It was no doubt in this way that Paul acquired the training which enabled him later to create the type of topographical drawing which was to have so extensive a popularity.

In 1743 Thomas was appointed private secretary and draughtsman to William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, and in that capacity accompanied him in his campaigns in Flanders and Scotland, while after the suppression of the Scottish rebellion in 1745-1746 Paul was employed in the military survey of the new line of road to Fort George, and of the northern and western parts of the Highlands. On his return to England Thomas became an architect, and later on, when professor of architecture at the Royal Academy, was in the habit of illustrating his lectures by some of the drawings made during the stirring years of his earlier career. Paul quitted the service of the survey in 1751, having laid up a store of portraits, as well as sketches of scenes and scenery, many of which were to appear later as aquatint engravings.

The services of the two brothers in Scotland proved fruitful to both. Thomas was made Deputy Ranger of Windsor Great Park by the Duke of Cumberland, who had himself been appointed to the Rangership on his return to England in 1746. In this post, which he held for fifty-two years, Thomas had both leisure and scope for his varied talents. He constructed Virginia Water, built lodges and made plantations under the supervision of the Duke, who occupied Cranbourn Lodge, and the

history of Windsor Forest is henceforth identified with Thomas Sandby until his death in 1798 at the age of 77 The Royal Library at Windsor Castle contains a large number of plans and drawings illustrating his works.

On giving up his employment in the Scotch surveys in 1751, Paul went to live with his brother at Windsor; hence the numerous sketches, many of them most attractive, of the Great Park, the Castle, Eton College, Datchet and the country round, over fifty of which are in the Royal Collection. These early Windsor drawings, at first secured by Sir Joseph Banks, one of Paul Sandby's earliest patrons, were dispersed at Christie's sale-rooms on May 23rd 1876, as the property of Sir Wyndham Knatchbull.

Besides his water-colour work Paul did many etchings, and as a landscape engraver became one of the most successful artists of his day. Being anxious to introduce a young Scottish artist, David Allan, to notice in London, he executed a set of plates from his drawings in illustration of Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, dated 1758, collaborated with Edward Rooker (1712?-1774), father of the better known Michael Angelo Rooker, in the illustrations to Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* from designs by John Collins; produced a set of twelve etchings in 4to of the *Cries of London* in 1760, and in 1761 *Eight Views in North America and the West Indies* from drawings by Governor Pownall and others. For the most part, however, his etched work was done from his own drawings. He was also a caricaturist of no mean order, both of political and social subjects, his appearance in that capacity dating from 1753, when Hogarth published his

Analysis of Beauty; many of these humorous efforts were also engraved in aquatint. The following extract, taken from Arnold's *Library of the Fine Arts*, relates to the Hogarth incident. "His talent for the delineation of character, bordering as it mostly does on caricature, led him beyond the limits of good sense or the graver character of art. On the appearance of Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, mixed up with some political and party feelings, Mr Sandby produced a series of prints ridiculing the line of beauty, and exhibiting its application to the most absurd and ludicrous forms, as Hogarth had done as to those of more elegant and legitimate objects." The story concludes with Sandby's withdrawal of these satirical prints on seeing the *Mariage à la Mode;* "Such a man," he observed, "should not be made the subject of ridicule or burlesque." The anecdote is one of those in which the desire to adorn a tale takes precedence of historic accuracy, the *Mariage à la Mode* having appeared eight years earlier than the *Analysis of Beauty*. Sandby's remark must either be imaginary, or must refer to some other work of Hogarth.[1]

About 1760 both the brothers went to live in London for a part at least of each year, Paul eventually purchasing a house overlooking Hyde Park, now 23 Hyde Park Place, where he lived till his death in 1809 at the age of eighty-four. They were both associated with the early attempts to form Academies and Societies of Artists for the furtherance and protection of national art, a movement marked by many squabbles and much confusion, out of which the Royal Academy was subse-

[1] *Arnold's Library of the Fine Arts*, 1831, vol. ii.

quently to emerge; when it was finally incorporated in 1768, both were included among the forty foundation members, Thomas being elected to the Chair of Architecture.

As Paul Sandby is known chiefly as a water-colour artist, his career may be considered to lie outside the scope of this book; but, as a matter of fact, aquatint engraving is very closely connected with the early history of water-colour painting. It was the enthusiasm produced by the application to painting of dry colours that set the engraver to respond to that taste by the representation of landscape, and the success of aquatint was in fact assured, in England at least, by the popularity of water colour. And if further apology is necessary for devoting some space to the consideration of the life and work of Sandby, it may be sought in the attractive personality of the man himself and his many-sided activities. Mulvaney's *Life of Gandon*, the architect, published in 1846, gives a pleasing picture of Paul's social life in London and of his many friendships, a picture confirmed by J. T. Smith, Keeper of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, from 1816 to his death in 1833, in his entertaining *Book for a Rainy Day*, and by many other contemporary writers. Gray, among others, admired Sandby's work, of which he thus writes to Wharton (Oct. 21st, 1760): "Among the rest (of the contributors to the Exhibition of the Incorporated Society of Artists) is a Mr Sandby, who excells in Landscape, with figures, views of Buildings, Ruins, etc., and has been much employed by the Duke, Lord Harcourt, Lord Scarborough, and others. Hitherto he has dealt in wash'd Drawings and Water Colours, but

has of late only practised in oil."[1] "Sandby's vast store of knowledge in the fine arts," says Gandon, "added to his high professional character, and the conversational powers which he possessed being highly attractive, drew round him a circle of intellectual and attached friends, comprising the most distinguished artists and amateurs of the day. His house became quite the centre of attraction, particularly during the spring and summer months, when on each Sunday, after Divine Service, his friends assembled and formed a conversazione on the arts, the sciences, and the general literature of the day." At the "club" dinner of the Royal Academy he was a great favourite, often amusing the company with doggerel verse and humorous anecdote, and was frequently in request as a member of its Council.

Another trait that endeared him to many was displayed in his generous exertions on behalf of those artists who wanted help at a time when patronage was necessary to ensure appreciation, and introductions to those in high places the only certain road to success. It was with this object that he lent his etching needle to secure public notice for David Allan, John Collins, William Pars and C. L. Clerisseau, while no less a person than Richard Wilson owed relief from actual distress largely to his unostentatious help.

In 1768 Paul Sandby was appointed chief drawing-master at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, a position which he only relinquished in 1796 on account of his age, his son Thomas Paul being nominated his successor. It is said that a large number of the drawings

[1] *Letters of Thomas Gray*, Bohn's ed., vol. ii. p. 168.

attributed to him are copies of his works made by the cadets. Many of the subjects, being intended for aquatint, were prepared with a very faintly etched outline and then coloured by him for that purpose before being passed on as copies to his pupils.

Besides this appointment he seems to have had a large circle of private pupils drawn from the royal family and the aristocracy, while a few professional artists learned of him, including William Watts the engraver, Michael Angelo Rooker the landscape painter, who derived his second name from a jest of Sandby's, John Cleveley the marine painter, and the elder Harding. Sandby has been often called the Father of Water-Colour Painting, but the title is not well applied. His drawings distinctly belong to the tinted period, and though he lived well on into the time when local colour had triumphed over neutral tint, his own work was always marked by the pen outline and the shadows of Indian ink.

Sandby's industry must have been extraordinary. Gandon says: "He was indefatigable in cultivating his powers as an artist. He commenced painting in water colours very early in the morning; the pencil and very frequently the pen seldom quitted his hand until evening, allowing himself only those hours dedicated to his repasts at which merit frequently met with patronage and assistance, and his friends uniformly parted from his hospitable board delighted with his wit, conversation and manners." Nor must we forget that industry in any branch of art was not as easy then as it is now, least of all for a landscape painter. The mere moving from

place to place was a difficult and often a dangerous matter : the choice lay between riding or hiring a post-chaise, unless the journey was made on foot, when shelter for the night was a matter of careful arrangement. To think of the various parts of the country traversed by Sandby, to paint the great country seats or other scenes for which he received commissions from his patrons, and remember the obstacles to travel in his days, is to marvel at the amount he was able to accomplish. His sketches are full of quaint incidents showing the difficulties he had frequently to face. "Sometimes," says his nephew William, "he represents himself sketching seated on the ground, with a boy holding a white sun umbrella over him and a man taking charge of his horse. At others, when more stationary, he has a little canvas tent, on one occasion being tilted at by a furious bull, indignant at the helpless occupant who is sent sprawling on the grass. Sometimes the post-chaise awaits him at the roadside and he is surrounded by a group of rustics or children watching him at his work." [1] Even the weekly journey to Woolwich which he had to undertake as drawing-master was not without peril, for the coaches were often waylaid by highwaymen on the road.

Another and a different way in which Sandby, like his contemporaries, was heavily handicapped was the difficulty of obtaining and preparing his materials. As yet there was no artists' colourman, and every artist had to make his own dry colours, getting his ingredients from

[1] *Thomas and Paul Sandby, their Lives and Works.* W. Sandby. Seeley & Co., 1892.

the druggist and the herbalist. A great improvement took place about 1780 when Messrs Reeves first began to prepare colours for artists in cakes, but then and for long afterwards these were very limited in quantity. Sandby was a born experimenter, and his letters are full of his discoveries and attempts at making pigments. His friend Colonel Gravatt, R.E., himself an artist, kept a diary, and in 1802 noted in detail Paul's method of painting in water colour, tempera and oils.

Before the time of Paul Sandby topographical representation chiefly consisted in the so-called "bird's-eye views" as seen in the illustrations to the early county histories, the plates by J. Kip, Loggan and Ryland. Paul's knowledge of lineal perspective, coupled with his love of nature, made him seize instinctively the suitable characteristics for picturesque delineation. Other artists readily acknowledged their obligation to him; indeed the drawings of M. A. Rooker, Thomas Hearne, Edward Dayes and many others bear eloquent testimony to the innovations introduced by him.

Sandby's love of experiment led him to improve on the aquatint method as practised by Le Prince by substituting the spirit ground for the dust ground, as described in a former chapter. His *Views in Wales* (1774-1776) were so successful that he followed them up with four large aquatint *Views of Warwick Castle*, dedicated to the Hon. George Greville, Earl of Warwick, and dated 1776. In the same year came *Five Views of Windsor Castle*, published, like the Welsh views, by Sandby at St George's Row, and dedicated to the Earl of Montagu. A list of his principal plates executed in

WINDSOR TERRACE, LOOKING EASTWARD.

From *Five Views of Windsor Castle and Eton* (1776-7) by Paul Sandby.

aquatint and the dates of their publication are given at the end of this chapter. The student will find it instructive to compare his early with his later work, and to note the gradual improvement and increasing effectiveness of his method; at first he used the needle freely for purposes of definition, but ended by trusting entirely to the aquatint tones to produce the desired effect.

He also executed some large coloured prints, dated 1781, depicting the soldiers' encampments formed in 1780, the year of the Gordon Riots, in Hyde Park, St James's Park, Kensington Gardens, and on Blackheath, Coxheath and Warley Common. These have always been popular, mainly perhaps from the attractiveness of the figure groups, which are especially characteristic of the artist, and also from the fact that well-known personages of the time were included amongst them.

The landscape views had an extensive circulation, and more than one critic has observed that Turner himself was influenced by them in his *Liber Studiorum*, at all events in his choice of subject. One of Turner's earliest efforts was a copy of a drawing by Paul Sandby, and the first plate of the *Liber Studiorum* was, as we have seen, carried out in aquatint.

Lithography even, which was destined to supersede aquatint engraving, was foreshadowed in a letter by Paul Sandby to James Gandon in 1806, and had it not been for his advanced age at the time he would no doubt have experimented in that new field.

Some 300 of the works of the brothers Sandby in oil, water colour, engraving, and etching were shown at

Nottingham in 1884; the permanent art collections contain many, private collections not a few, and at every print-shop examples may be found. The number of drawings and engravings by Paul Sandby dispersed over the country must be very large, but the purchaser of his drawings must be on his guard against the copies made by his pupils, which in many cases are almost indistinguishable from the originals. The engravings too must be carefully examined to see if they are from unworn plates. Unfortunately some of the original copper plates were not destroyed when they had ceased to yield good impressions, and falling into the hands of unscrupulous dealers the prints taken from them were highly coloured, and thus re-issued to the public.

LIST OF AQUATINT PLATES BY PAUL SANDBY,

FROM THE "LIVES OF THOMAS AND PAUL SANDBY," BY WILLIAM SANDBY.

The following are the principal plates executed in aquatinta by Paul Sandby, in the order in which they were published. When not otherwise stated, the engravings are from his own drawings.

Twelve Views in South Wales, 1st set . .	Quarto, 1775
Four Views of Warwick Castle . . .	Folio, 1776
Five Views of Windsor Castle and Eton . .	Folio, 1776-7
Twelve Views in North Wales, 2nd set . .	Quarto, 1776
Twelve Views in Wales, 3rd set . . .	Quarto, 1777
Nine Views in Baiæ, Ischia, etc., after Pars and Fabris	Folio, 1777
Eight Views of Naples, Old Capua, etc., after Clerisseau and others	Folio, 1778
Worcester	Folio, 1778
Two Views of Shrewsbury Bridge . . .	Folio, 1778
Two Views of Bridgnorth, Shropshire . .	Folio, 1778

Eleven Views of Miletus, Troas, Athens, etc., after W. Pars	Folio, 1779-80
Ludlow	Folio, 1779
Ten Views of Camps in Hyde Park and Blackheath	Quarto, 1780
Four Views of Encampments	Folio, 1780-3
Two Views on Blackheath (Duke of Montagu's)	Quarto, 1781
Sports of the Carnival at Rome, after D. Allan (four views)	Folio, 1781
The Neapolitan Dance, after D. Allan	Folio, 1781
Two Views of St Augustine's, Canterbury	Folio, 1782
The Meteor of 1783, seen from the Terrace at Windsor	Folio, 1783
Twelve Views in North and South Wales, 4th set	Quarto, 1786
Two Views of King John's Palace, Eltham	Folio, 1787
Tunbridge Castle	Folio, 1789

NOTE.—It may be interesting to point out that Angelica Kauffmann was among the earliest aquatint engravers in England, two of her plates, *L'Allegra* and *La Penserosa*, being dated 1799, that is to say, only five years after the publication of Sandby's earliest aquatints. In the following year she re-issued several of her own early etchings as aquatint engravings, printing them chiefly in bistre.

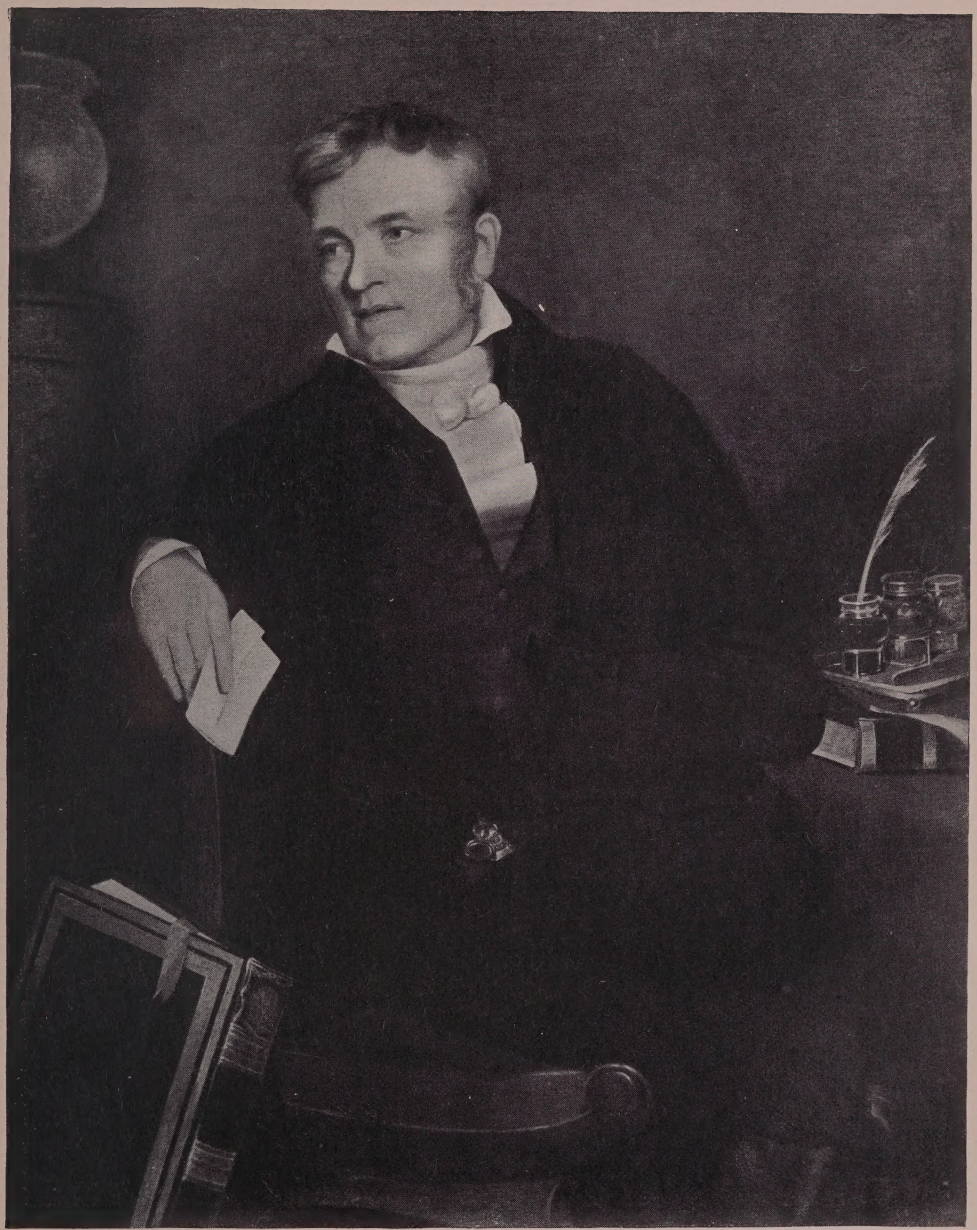
CHAPTER VI

RUDOLPH ACKERMANN AND HIS ASSOCIATES

THROUGHOUT three centuries of book production there is no more attractive figure than that of Rudolph Ackermann, through whose extraordinary enterprise and spirit of adventure aquatint was for many years successfully applied to the illustration of books. The versatility of his achievement has rarely been equalled; and the enthusiasm and initiative shown by him in all that goes to the making of fine and attractive books marked an era in publishing that has scarcely received due recognition. His life is a stimulating record from the unflagging energy with which he first originated his schemes and then attracted to himself the best talent of the day for their elaboration and execution.

Although our chief interest for the moment lies in the coloured illustrations with which he so lavishly adorned the volumes issued from his press, it is worth while to note the means by which he gradually built up a successful business—ceaseless personal interest and supervision, coupled with a rapid and intuitive appreciation of the needs of his time, however trivial these might appear.

Ackermann was born in 1764 at Stolberg in the Saxon Harz, and in 1775 his father removed his



RUDOLPH ACKERMANN.
From a Painting by A. Mouchet.

business of carriage-building and harness-making to Schneeberg, where Rudolph went to school until he was fifteen. Though he seems always to have wished to spend his time with books rather than with tools, he went into the factory, but took more willingly to the drawing-office than the workshops. Later he removed to Paris, where he became the best pupil of Carossi, then high in favour as a designer of carriages, and subsequently came to London, where carriage-building was already an important business. Until 1775 he, like Charles Catton and other artists of the day, appears to have been employed in furnishing coach-makers with designs, and the state coach built at a cost of seven thousand pounds for the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1790, and that for the Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1791, are mentioned as examples of his taste. By this time he had married an Englishwoman, and thought it desirable to have some occupation which could be carried on by his family in the event of his death. In 1795, therefore, he opened a print shop in the Strand at No. 96, which was removed the following year to No. 101, where he had already revived a drawing-school formerly managed by William Shipley, founder of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and known to us from Hogarth's picture, *The Academy in St Martin's Lane*. Henry Pars, a pupil of Shipley and brother of the better known water-colour artist of that name, had managed the school after Shipley gave it up in 1763, among his pupils being William Blake, who at the age of ten "was put to Mr Pars' drawing-school in the

Strand," but he too had retired, and the room, known at the time as the British Forum, had been recently used by John Thelwall for political speeches advertised by him as elocutionary lectures. These were stopped by the Government in 1794, and then it was that Rudolph Ackermann bought the lease and reopened the room as a school for drawing. He had a master for figures, a second for landscape, and a third for architecture; but, notwithstanding that eighty pupils were attending it, in 1806 he decided to close it. The reason for this was that his business as book- and print-seller had largely increased, in addition to which he had become a dealer in fancy articles and materials for artists, so that the room was wanted as a storehouse for patterns.

The Repository of Arts, No. 101 Strand, from which Ackermann issued the series of books with which his name is connected, was on the site of Worcester House, formerly the inn of the Bishops of Carlisle, but presented by the Crown to the founder of the Russell family. From the Earls of Bedford it passed into the hands of Edward Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, whence its name. In 1682 his son, Henry Duke of Beaufort, let part of the site, on which was erected the group of houses known as Beaufort Buildings. Here lived Charles Lillie the perfumer, who figures in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, then Shipley and finally Ackermann. Curiously enough, Eugene Rimmell subsequently carried on a like business at the house of his more famous predecessor, but all these landmarks have now been buried under the Savoy Buildings, erected in 1903.

The second plate in volume i. of the famous *Reposi-*

tory of the Fine Arts represents the shop, or repository, as it was then the fashion to call it, at 101 Strand, and is followed by a description of the place and an account of the owner's previous career, in the course of which appears the following passage:—"During the period when the French emigrants were so numerous in this country Mr A. was among the first to strike out a liberal and easy mode of employing them, and he had seldom less than fifty nobles, priests, and ladies of distinction at work upon screens, card-racks, flower-stands, and other ornamental fancy-works of a similar nature. Since the decree permitting the return of the emigrants to France, this manufacture has been continued by native artists, who execute the work in a very superior style, but it is impossible in this place to notice the great variety of articles which it embraces. The public are referred to a catalogue of 100 pages, which conveys every information that can be necessary." We note with regret that this may possibly be the beginning of those ingenious horrors with which it was the fashion some fifty years since for ladies to occupy their leisure and decorate their homes, nor can Ackermann be exonerated from the charge of encouraging a taste for the inelegant trifling that has passed through successive stages of woolwork, bead mats, transparencies, fretwork, and the like.

It is only possible briefly to enumerate the various experiments in science and manufacture upon which Ackerman spent such time as he could spare from his more legitimate business. He was one of the first who found a means of waterproofing paper, leather, and

woollen fabrics, and had a factory for that purpose at Chelsea during the early years of the last century. In 1805 he prepared the funeral car for Lord Nelson, and in 1807 was occupied with experiments in aerostation by means of which balloons were to disseminate printed matter. In 1809 he was naturalized, a distinction that cost him a hundred pounds.

A good letter-writer, Ackermann wrote and spoke English well, though always retaining a strong German accent.

One of the most important developments of his business was the art library he opened at the Repository, a wholly novel experiment which subsequently, from the gatherings he held there, became one of the chief social institutions of London. In volume ix. of the *Repository* there is a picture of it accompanied by a description which opens in the following manner:—"Among the many valuable libraries, public as well as private, which grace the metropolis, there was not one exclusively appropriated to the reception of books on the subject of the fine arts. Sensible of the utility and convenience of such an establishment, not merely to the professors, but also to the amateurs, of these arts, which tend so powerfully to embellish social life, to refine the passions, and to encourage the best feelings of our nature, the proprietor of the Repository resolved to supply the desideratum. In pursuance of that plan, he last year proposed to form a room, of which an accurate representation is given in the annexed engraving, from the design of Mr J. B. Papworth, an architect who has evinced not only much

taste, but great professional skill in his arrangement of the apartment, by overcoming the impediments which the site opposed to his plan. This room, fifty-six feet in length and twenty in breadth, is elegantly fitted up, and furnished with a copious collection of such books as relate to the arts, or are adorned with graphic illustrations, among which may be found the most splendid works, both ancient and modern. This repository will not be confined to the productions of the British press, but will embrace all the fine publications of the Continent; so that here the book-collector, the amateur, and the professor of fine arts, may have an opportunity of procuring what they might long seek elsewhere in vain. The books are arranged in dwarf bookcases round the sides of the room, and the walls above them are covered with interesting productions of the pencil. This apartment, like all the rest of Mr Ackermann's premises, is lighted solely with gas, which burns with a purity and brilliance unattainable by any other mode of illumination hitherto attempted."

Ackermann did much to further the introduction of gas, and *A Peep at the Gas Lights in Pall Mall*, a caricature made for him by Rowlandson, dated December 23, 1809, shows the first of the thoroughfares lighted in this way. A gentleman of fashion tries to explain the science of gas-making to a lady on his arm in the following terms:—"The coals being steamed produce tar or paint for the outside of houses; the smoke, passing through water, is deprived of substance and burns as you see." An Irishman overhearing this exclaims: "Arrah, honey, if this man brings fire through

water we shall soon have the Thames and the Liffey burnt down and all the pretty little herrings and whales burnt to cinders!" Then there is the countryman with his "Wanns, what a main pretty light it be! We have nothing like it in our country," to which his companion, who is a Quaker, replies: "Ay, friend, but this is all vanity; what is this to the inward light?" Apart from these stand the night birds discussing among themselves the probable effect of the invention on their own habits and customs. Then follows an amusing and somewhat lengthy description and explanation of gas in which we are told that "when required to be lighted, there is nothing to indicate its presence—no disturbance in the transparency of the atmosphere—it instantly bursts on the approach of a lighted taper, into a brilliant, noiseless, steady and beautiful flame."

From 1818 to 1820 Ackermann was chiefly taken up with a patent for a movable axle for carriages, although by that date he was already launched upon the improvement of lithography, recently introduced into this country. In the *Repository* for 1817 there is an article on the technique of lithography, illustrated with a lithograph by Prout, and in 1819 he translated Alois Senefelder's *Complete Course of Lithography*, the original having been published only the previous year at Munich. Senefelder had taken out an English patent for his invention as far back as 1780, but little had been done in the process before Ackermann took it up and developed it with his habitual enthusiasm.

But it was not only as a man of business, invention, and capacity that Ackermann attained success and

popularity during his life; he was also noted throughout his career for his many schemes of benevolence. We have already mentioned his employment of French emigrants; but he was further instrumental in raising a large sum of money in 1814 for the relief of Germans in their own country, and particularly in Saxony, after the war,—an effort gratefully acknowledged by the king through the presentation of the Order of Civil Merit, and by his countrymen in gifts of various kinds. The Spanish exiles who came over to England after 1815, as the French had done a quarter of a century earlier, were also taken in hand by him. He employed them on translations and elementary Spanish texts, which he not only published himself but caused to be sold both in England and in branch bookshops throughout South America.

It is, however, with Ackermann's benevolence and generosity to the artists of his day that we are more especially concerned, for to them we in a large measure owe the succession of fine works published by him, notably those with illustrations by Rowlandson. His relations with the caricaturist would provide a chapter in themselves, for he was his constant friend and adviser, supplying him with subjects for his pen and keeping him from too entire a degradation of his extraordinary talent. Ackermann was indeed one of the men who instinctively knew how to choose his subordinates and coadjutors, and to this quality, coupled as it was with a liberal reward of their services, he owed his own success and the public a long range of really beautiful books.

Among his experiments in publishing we must not

omit to mention the introduction from Germany of the fashion of the *Taschenbuch*, or illustrated Annual, which for many years was the most popular of gift books. They were collections of short tales and original verse accompanied by line engravings, a combination of text and illustration hitherto quite unknown in England. "We are come, however, to a new and more splendid species of pocket-book," says Leigh Hunt in his essay on *Pocket-books and Keepsakes*, after describing these volumes, pocket-books in a literal sense, so popular in the 'twenties :—" It struck somebody who was acquainted with the literary annuals of Germany, and who reflected upon this winter flower-bed of the booksellers—these pocket-books, souvenirs, and Christmas presents, all in the lump—that he would combine the spirit of all of them, as far as labour, season, and sizeability went; and omitting the barren or blank part, and being entirely original, produce such a pocket-book as had not yet been seen. The magician in Boccaccio could not have done better. Hence arose the Forget-me-not, the Literary Souvenirs, the Amulets, and the Keepsakes, which combine the original contribution of the German annual with the splendid binding of the Christmas English present." The *Forget-me-not* in question, started in 1825, and edited till its cessation in 1847 by Frederick Shoberl, attained to immediate success ; a similar publication, the *Gem* for 1831, contained amongst other things some of Tennyson's earliest poems. In 1829 there were no less than thirteen of these annuals, including several for children, but the fashion died a natural death in 1856.

We have already alluded to Ackermann's library meetings. From early in 1813, every Wednesday evening was devoted to a reception in the large room of his library; and thither flocked authors and artists, patrons and dilettanti, as well as foreigners of distinction, who greatly prized the opportunity thus offered them of an introduction into the best social life of London. On these occasions were exhibited prints and woodcuts, original drawings by well-known artists of the time and by those who hoped to become better known, examples of lithography, and any similar novelty connected with book production, as well as the leading periodicals from abroad. The following lines were written to commemorate these 'conversazione' as the evening gatherings were called:—

"Wits, Critics, Poets, Artists, here convene,
And all accord to animate the scene;
Sculpture and Painting well adorn the Place,
And classic stores the spacious tables grace.
Study and converse, with alternate pow'r,
Engage, amuse, instruct, the passing hour.
Hence for improvement Genius here should haste
And hail the Mansion as the Fane of Taste!
Learn GRANDEUR, learn, from one in humbler sphere,
Who spreads so rich a mental banquet here,
Learn Arts to foster on this social plan
And emulate the zeal of ACKERMANN."

In 1827 he returned to his first premises in 96 Strand, which had been rebuilt for him from the designs of J. B. Papworth. He died on March 30, 1834, at Finchley, where he had long resided, and was buried at St Clement Danes.

The list of his publications illustrated in aquatint

gives the names of those who helped in their production. All were men of distinction in art, literature, or science, and all enjoyed his intimacy. They include the chief artists and draughtsmen of the day,—Rowlandson, Pugin, Nash, Pyne, Mackenzie, Fielding, Walton, Westall, and others. Nor were the engravers who aquatinted his plates of less talent in their special line; S. Mitan, T. Malton, T. Sutherland, J. C. Stadler are signatures to be found at the foot of a considerable number. But to produce the countless finished plates more help was required than that of artist and engraver; a whole army of persons must have been employed to colour these prints. The point is of considerable importance. Each of these aquatint impressions is coloured by hand, the washes being always put on with more or less aptitude, often with great skill and address. The amount of hand-colouring varies greatly; in some plates it is considerable, in others very slight. Possibly the plates for a whole edition would not all be printed at once, but worked off as wanted. The artist would first make his design, and hand it over to the engraver to reproduce by the aquatint process, so far as its qualities of light and shadow were concerned. When a proof satisfactory in this respect was obtained, it was returned to the artist, who carefully coloured it according to his intention in the original drawing. This then served as a model for the staff of colourists whom Ackermann most probably trained for the purpose. They must, indeed, have been colour draughtsmen of a high order, for the deftness and delicacy with which they applied their tints in preserving the effect of the model before them is

truly surprising. When one thinks of the number of impressions required, let us say, of the *Repository*, which, published in monthly parts at 3s. 6d. each, under the editorship of F. Shoberl, had attained to three thousand subscribers before the end of its first year, 1809, and was continued in a second and third series till the end of 1828, the high level of excellence maintained by these unrecorded workers becomes more than ever remarkable.

Few individual names have come down to us, but there are occasional instances of the colourist's name being given in addition to that of the engraver. That of J. B. Hogarth, for instance, is mentioned as the colourist of many of the plates of Capt. R. M. Grindlay's *Scenery, Costumes, and Architecture . . . of India*, referred to in chap. ix., while in *Picturesque Views of the Architectural Antiquities of Northumberland*, the plates have what is probably a unique imprint :—*Drawn and Etched by T. M. Richardson. Coloured by B. Hunter. Engraved by D. Havell.*

In 1808 Ackermann issued the first of his great series, all of which came out in monthly parts, to appear later in their final form of elephant quarto. *The Microcosm of London, or London in Miniature, the Architecture by A. Pugin, the Manners and Customs by Thomas Rowlandson*, was published in twenty-six parts at 10s. 6d. each, and the complete edition in 3 vols. in 1810 cost 15 guineas. The illustrations were the joint-work of Pugin and Rowlandson, the text of the two first volumes was by W. H. Pyne, that of the third by W. Combe. The Preface has the following passage :—"The

great objection that men fond of the fine arts have hitherto made to engravings on architectural subjects, has been, that the buildings and figures have almost invariably been designed by the same artists. In consequence of this, the figures have been generally neglected, or are of a very inferior cast, and totally unconnected with the other part of the print; so that we may sometimes see men and women in English dresses delineated in an English view of an Italian palace, and Spanish grandees in long cloaks, and ladies in veils, seated in one of our cathedrals.

> "'The dress, we know, is neither new nor rare,[1]
> But how the d—l came it there?'

"To remove these glaring incongruities from this publication, a strict attention has been paid, not only to the country of the figures introduced in the different buildings, but the general air and peculiar carriage, habits, etc., of such characters as are likely to make up the majority in particular places.

"The architectural part of the subjects that are contained in this work, will be delineated, with the utmost precision and care by Mr Pugin, whose uncommon accuracy and elegant taste have been displayed in his former productions.

"With respect to the figures, they are from the pencil of Mr Rowlandson, with whose professional talents the public are already so well acquainted that it is not necessary to expatiate on them here. As the following list

[1] "The thing we know is neither rich nor rare
But wonder how the devil it got there."
POPE, *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot.*

comprises almost every variety of character that is found in this great metropolis, there will be ample scope for the exertion of his abilities; and it will be found that his powers are not confined to the ludicrous, but that he can vary with his subject, and, whenever it is necessary, descend 'From grave to gay; from lively to severe.'"

The book is a perfect treasure-house of scenes, described with pen and brush, from the London of a century ago, the work of Rowlandson and Pugin being equally admirable. It depicts the time of transition from the old to the new, from the formal manners of the eighteenth century to the incoming of modern life and the freedom, not to say licence, of the reign of George IV. The world was full of a new zest of living; nature had been discovered, and the painter was busy introducing her to the public; the wars of Napoleon had quickened a sense of patriotism that made itself felt, both in literature and caricature; Hogarth had connected art with the everyday life of the plain man, and all who could draw were henceforth to depict the common life of the common world. To us of to-day, when each successive year brings about a disappearance of the old landmarks, modern London and the London of the *Microcosm* scarcely appear the same city. Hence the perennial fascination of the book. Two-thirds of the places illustrated have entirely passed away, the Pillory, the Old Bailey, the King's Bench Prison, the Royal Cockpit in Birdcage Walk, Brooks' Subscription House, where the aristocratic gamesters of the day played by the light of shaded candles—these now live only in the pages of Thackeray and Dickens. The India House of Charles

Lamb is no more, the King's Mews is now the National Gallery, and Christie's Auction Room has become a modern palace of art. About one-third of the plates, however, represent existing buildings; the British Museum, the Royal Institution, the Post Office, the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, are all there, though in surroundings very different from those which now prevail. In the Print Room at the British Museum can be seen two of Rowlandson's original sketches for the *Microcosm*, *Christie's Auction Room* and *Mounting Guard at St James's Park*, which are shown side by side with the corresponding aquatint engraving. Pugin's own autograph copy of the *Microcosm* is in the possession of Mr Yates Thompson. Pugin bound up in it a set of uncoloured plates as well as the coloured ones, and also 118 of the preliminary sketches, mostly in pencil, which he made for the illustrations and which were obviously sent to Rowlandson that he might add the figures. The different manner in which the two artists used the pencil is very interesting; the delicacy of Pugin's draughtsmanship and the dash of Rowlandson's character studies form a striking contrast, and the whole book affords a rare opportunity of seeing every plate in its several stages.

Ackermann's next work, intended as a 'companion and continuation' of the *Microcosm of London*, was *The History of the Abbey Church of St Peter's, Westminster*. It was published in sixteen monthly numbers and issued in two volumes in 1812 at £15. It is not as interesting in plates or text as either the *Microcosm* or the succession of books on the Universities and Public Schools,

CHRISTIE'S AUCTION ROOM.

From Ackermann's *Microcosm*, vol. ii. (1808).

but Ackermann himself was very proud of it, as may be seen from the following account taken from the life of John Papworth the architect, who was the friend and assistant of the publisher in many of his ventures. "During the early part of this period, Ackermann had issued his *History of Westminster Abbey* (1812), and when complete, he had all the original drawings for the seventy plates which had been made by Aug. Pugin, Fred Mackenzie, H. Villiers, G. Shepherd, Thompson, T. Unwin, and W. J. White, bound up with the letterpress printed on vellum, making a unique copy. Mr Papworth prepared a special design, with Gothic details, for the brass mountings and clasps for the two volumes, which cost £120. This copy Ackermann valued so highly that he used to provide a pair of white kid gloves for the use of the person to whom was granted the favour of inspecting it. He sent a copy of the book to Mr Papworth inscribed with his sincere regards and a draft for £50."[1]

Next in the series come *The History of the University of Oxford* and *The History of the University of Cambridge*, published in 1814 and 1815 respectively. Of the thousand copies issued in monthly parts, beginning in 1813, the price of the first five hundred was 12s. 6d. and of the second 16s. a part. There was also a supplementary series of portraits of founders of the Colleges, thirty-two for the Oxford volume and fifteen for the Cambridge, in line and stipple, hand coloured, but of slight interest, without any engraver's name. The volumes in their final form were priced at £16 in

[1] *Life of J. B. Papworth*, by Wyatt Papworth. Privately Printed, 1879.

elephant[1] and £27 in atlas quarto. They are often found without the supplementary plates, and Ackermann provided in his index for binding 'with or without the founders.' These two books are among the finest ever executed. A. Pugin, F. Nash, F. Mackenzie and W. Westall were associated in the drawings, which are worthy even of the splendid architectural monuments they commemorate, while the engraving was carried out by such masters of aquatint as J. Bluck, J. C. Stadler, F. C. Lewis, D. Havell and others of like reputation. The result was the production of plates of unequalled merit in their particular line. Some of the original drawings can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the National Art Library has a copy of the Oxford edition, with the plates on India paper uncoloured.

The *Universities* were followed by a *History of the Colleges* (1816), which included Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Charterhouse, St Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby and Christ's Hospital. It was issued, like its predecessors, in monthly parts and at the same price, but was completed in one volume and sold for seven guineas. The same artists were employed upon it as upon the *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to which it is a worthy companion. When one thinks that these three splendid volumes were completed in three successive years, one can but marvel at the industry of artists, authors and publisher. In all of them it may be observed that many of the aquatints are printed in two colours, a blue tint for the sky and a brown for buildings, trees and foreground, in addition to the hand colouring.

[1] Elephant quarto measures 14×11½, atlas quarto 16½×13 inches.

Ackermann next turned his attention to the production of important books on travel and scenery, but these will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter; and we will pass on to another of his serial ventures which had an extraordinary popularity in its day, and is even now a storehouse of amusement.

The *Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics* was a monthly magazine published at 4s. a number, the first of which appeared on January 2, 1809. It will thus be seen that it was appearing at the same time as the fine art publications just described. Its aim was to provide a popular imitation of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *European Magazine*; this last, a periodical of established reputation, dealing with life and politics in a serious manner. The *Repository* was illustrated with every form of engraving, woodcut, line, stipple, and, after 1817, with lithographs, while the number of coloured aquatints was throughout very considerable. Its popularity was immediate, and before a year was out the number of subscribers had reached a thousand. There was hardly a subject that it did not deal with; art exhibitions, book notices and reviews, all find a place, many of the contributions being of sufficient importance to be subsequently reprinted, as will be seen from Appendix C. Under the editorship of Frederick Shoberl (1775-1853), whom we have met in connection with the Annuals, it continued till the end of 1828, the whole issue consisting of a first series of fourteen volumes, a second of fourteen and a third of twelve.

The fourth number of the *Repository*, April 1809, gave the prospectus of still another serial which was to

be even more sought after than the *Repository*, in consequence of the appearance in it of the famous *Tour of Dr Syntax*. This was the *Poetical Magazine*, which was apparently established as a receptacle for the 'elegant' versifying that was thrust upon Ackermann for the *Repository*. It lived three years, its only title to fame being the *Tour of Dr Syntax*, with its illustrations by Rowlandson, all in coloured aquatint, the other plates being unimportant views of Italian and English scenery.

Shoberl, who had had some experience of journalism as originator and co-proprietor with Henry Colburn of the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1814, besides conducting the *Repository* and *Forget-Me-Not*, already alluded to, edited the text of *The World in Miniature*, which started in monthly parts in 1821 and was brought to a close in 1827. The forty-two duodecimo volumes form a valuable record of costume, the numerous plates being in line and stipple, coloured by hand. The last four, dealing with England, Scotland and Ireland, were, however, edited by W. H. Pyne who, as the author of *The Costume of Great Britain* (1808), had already shown himself interested in the subject. For Ackermann again Shoberl translated *Illustrations of Japan*, from the French of Isaac Titsingh, for fourteen years chief of the Dutch East India Company's settlement at Nagasaki, interesting as a first-hand work on Japan written by one of the earliest collectors of Japanese prints. Japan appears to have had a considerable attraction for English readers ever since Dryden's translation of the *Life of S. François Xavier* in 1683. Some half-dozen books on the subject were published within our period,

but of these only Shoberl's appears to be illustrated in aquatint, a somewhat singular fact when the popularity of that medium for the illustration of books of travel is taken into account. Shoberl also wrote several original works, only one of which, however, *A Picturesque Tour from Geneva to Milan*, was illustrated in aquatint.

Ackermann does not appear to have contributed any text to his publications, with the exception of the prefaces to the *Public Schools*, the *Picturesque Tour of the English Lakes*, and the *Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs* (1789), with Rowlandson's eighty-seven plates of infantry and cavalry in their respective uniforms. The following extract from the last work is a fair example of his style; fortunately for literature, the *cacoëthes scribendi* was not his weakness. "The high fermented state of Politics at *Home*, in conjunction with the crooked policy of enemies *Abroad*, was truly alarming; for the perturbed spirits of France were hastening the progress of the disorder, while internal disaffection made all the way it could for its extension. At this moment the enemy had advanced their best regulated legions to the shores of the British Channel; and for the determined purpose of spreading through *our* land miseries as have already rendered wretched their *own*—*Miseries* that have deluged with human blood the most polished parts of Europe!—*Terrors!* that have half depopulated mighty Empires! pillaged Industry of its well-earned Property; and of that which is still dearer to reflecting minds, *Domestic Quietude!*

"As a detester of Gallic atrocities, and from a sincere attachment to the best of Sovereigns, the Proprietor of

this Work cheerfully contributes his Mite towards the general welfare of a Country, that has from early time, like a sturdy rock, amidst the buffetings of the storm and insolence of the billows, raised fearless its gorgeous head to Heaven, yielding matchless fruits beneath a blaze of sunshine and unremitted salubrity. If such exertions as the Proprietor's may lead to public notice and encouragement, his highest wishes are accomplished; and (though as diminutive as the waters of a rill, to augment the mighty *Ocean*) he will rejoice that he has blended his splendid trifle."

Ackermann would appear to have tried his hand also at engraving, for his name appears once at least in that capacity on two plates in *Nelson's Funeral Procession.*

William Combe (1741-1823), who produced so much of the text for Ackermann's publications, like Rowlandson, with whom, through the patronage of the publisher, he was long associated, was perhaps the most versatile writer that has ever lived. Educated at Eton and Oxford, he left without taking a degree, and travelled for three years in France and Italy, making the acquaintance of Sterne. On returning to England he lived in a princely fashion that gained for him the nickname of Count Combe, but, squandering a fortune left him by an uncle, he was obliged to disappear from his fashionable haunts. He is said during these years of want to have been successively a common soldier, a waiter at Swansea, a teacher of elocution, a cook in the Jesuit College at Douai, and a private in the French army. Only such a career could have given him that many-sided experience of life which supplied him with the material for

his multifarious journalism. About 1772 he returned to London, and began the systematic writing on anything and everything that had such remarkably prolific results in the next fifty years. His vices seem to have been chiefly gambling and an extraordinary extravagance, for he drank no wine in the days when such self-restraint was practically unknown. Although a list of his writings occupies five columns in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, there are probably others yet unattributed, for his aliases were many, owing to the fact that he spent most of his life as a debtor in the King's Bench Prison. His ready pen was at the service of any political party, and through his connection with Pitt he received an income of £200 a year. On Pitt's death, he offered his services to Lord Musgrave, but without the financial result that he hoped for. It may safely be said that there was no subject to which he did not apply his exceptional versatility. Sermons and topography, history and politics, satire and biography, were alike to him, and were treated with equal facility by his well-stored mind. The chief event of his literary career was undoubtedly his 'discovery' by Ackermann, when he was already sixty-eight, and occupied in writing sermons for a living. The acquaintance resulted in *Dr Syntax in Search of the Picturesque*, a work which made his reputation, and was the precursor of others of a like humorous nature. The story of the origin of *Dr Syntax* has often been told, and need only be very briefly alluded to here. When Ackermann published his *Poetical Magazine* in 1809, Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) offered him a series of drawings depicting the varied fortunes of a travelling schoolmaster

in search of the picturesque, the idea being possibly suggested by the writings of W. Gilpin. Ackermann, with his eye for a successful speculation, at once saw that the sketches were likely to make the fortune of his magazine, especially if associated with a rhyming text. In the preface to the second edition Combe writes: "An etching or drawing was sent me every month, and I composed a certain proportion of pages in verse, in which, of course, the subject of the design was included: the rest depended on what my imagination could furnish. When the first print was sent to me I did not know what would be the subject of the second; and in this manner, in a great measure, the artist continued designing and I continued writing every month for two years, till a work containing nearly two thousand lines was completed." Every month therefore saw Combe pinning up his sketch on a screen in his room in the King's Bench, and with that for his inspiration making copy for the printer as required.

The life of Combe, written by J. C. Hotten and prefixed to his edition of *Dr Syntax's Three Tours*, published in 1869, gives a very vivid presentment of the popularity attained by the book. Syntax was the name given to everything—wigs, coats or racehorses. By 1819 it had reached an eighth edition, and had given rise to a number of parodies and imitations, besides being translated into French and German. The publisher then engaged both Rowlandson and Combe to undertake a second series, *Doctor Syntax in Search of Consolation*, which, like the first, was issued in monthly parts at a guinea each, and when completed in 1820 was likewise published in octavo form. This was followed

the next year by the third and last tour, *Dr Syntax in Search of a Wife*, issued uniformly with the others. The original drawings for the aquatints of the first edition are in the Dyce Collection at South Kensington. In 1823 a pocket edition was issued with fresh plates in three volumes 16mo, instead of 8vo, the price being seven shillings a volume. Combe wrote the rhyming text to the *History of Madeira* when in his seventy-ninth year, and the last of his literary efforts for Ackermann, *The History of Johnny Quæ Genus*, was published in the following year, 1823, which was also the year of his death.

Combe is so interesting a figure that it may be worth while to give a full-length portrait of him in later life as drawn by a candid observer. Henry Crabb Robinson in his *Diary* thus writes under the year 1809 :[1] "There is another person belonging to this period who is a character certainly worth writing about; indeed, I have known few to be compared with him. It was on my first acquaintance with Walter (of the *Times*) that I used to notice in his parlour a remarkably fine old gentleman. He was tall, with a stately figure and handsome face. He did not appear to work much with the pen, but was chiefly a consulting man. When Walter was away he used to be more at the [*Times*] office, and to decide in the *dernier ressort*; his name was W. Combe. It was not till after I had left the office [H. C. R. was at one time foreign editor of the *Times*] that I learned what I shall now relate. At this time and until the end of his life he was an inhabitant of the King's Bench Prison, and when he came to Printing-House Square it was only by

[1] *Diary of H. C. R.*, 3rd ed., pp. 153-4.

virtue of a day rule. I believe that Walter offered to release him from prison by paying his debts. This he would not permit, as he did not acknowledge the equity of the claim for which he suffered imprisonment. He preferred living on an allowance from Walter, and was, he said, perfectly happy. He used to be attended by a young man who was a sort of half-servant, half-companion. Combe had been for many years of his life a man of letters, and wrote books anonymously. Some of these acquired a great temporary popularity. One at least, utterly worthless, was for a time, by the aid of prints as worthless as the text, to be seen everywhere—now only in old circulating libraries. This is 'The Travels of Dr Syntax in search of the Picturesque.' It is a long poem in eight-line verse; in external form something between Prior and Hudibras, but in merit with no real affinity to either. Combe wrote novels; one I recollect reading with amusement—'The German Gil Blas.' He was also the author of the famous 'Letters of a Nobleman to his Son,' generally ascribed to Lord Lyttleton. Amyot told me that he heard Windham speak of him. 'I shall always have a kindness for old Combe,' said Wyndham, 'for he was the first man that ever praised me, and when praise was therefore worth having.' That was in 'Lord Lyttleton's Letters.' Combe had, as I have said, the exterior of a gentleman. I understand that he was a man of fortune when young, and travelled in Europe, and even made a journey with Sterne; that he ran through his fortune, and took to literature, 'when house and land were gone and spent,' and when his high connections ceased to be of service.

Of these connections, and of the adventures of his youth, he was very fond of talking, and I used to enjoy the anecdotes he told after dinner, until one day, when he had been very communicative, and I had sucked in all he related with greedy ear, Fraser said, laughing, to Walter, 'Robinson, you see, is quite a flat; he believes all that old Combe says.'—'I believe whatever a gentleman says till I have some reason to the contrary.' —'Well, then,' said Fraser, 'you must believe nothing he says that is about himself. What he relates is often true, except that he makes himself the doer. He gives us well-known anecdotes, and only transfers the action to himself.' . . . This infirmity of old Combe was quite notorious. Amyot related to me a curious story which he heard from Dr Parr. The Doctor was at a large dinner-party when Combe gave a very pleasant and interesting account of his building a well-known house on Keswick Lake; he went very much into details, till at last the patience of one of the party was exhausted, and he cried out, 'Why, what an impudent fellow you are! You have given a very true and capital account of the house, and I wonder how you learned it; but that house was built by my father; it was never out of the family, and is in my own possession at this moment.' Combe was not in the least abashed, but answered, with the greatest *nonchalance*, 'I am obliged to you for doing justice to the fidelity of my description; I have no doubt it is your property, and I hope you will live long to enjoy it.'"

If the alliance of Combe and Rowlandson proved from their kindred temperaments particularly fortunate,

the alliance of Rowlandson with Ackermann proved even more profitable, alike to publisher and artist. The reputation of Rowlandson has reached its zenith during the last few years and has resulted in a monograph[1] on the man and his works which must henceforth be the source to which all will go who want both a personal impression and the most complete bibliographical detail. Rowlandson, spendthrift as he was, owed almost everything to Ackermann, who gave him his friendship, helped him with money, co-operated with him in his many schemes, and did all that he could to promote the sale of his drawings. It was probably through Ackermann's influence that the books illustrated by Rowlandson for him were free from the coarseness that was the note of the day, and that marred so much of the artist's work in caricature.

Thomas Rowlandson went straight from Dr Barrow's school in Soho Square to work as a student of the Royal Academy. His uncle had married a Frenchwoman, and at the age of sixteen he went to Paris at her invitation to study art there. After two years he returned to the schools of the Royal Academy, later on going to Paris a second time. In 1775 he first exhibited at the Academy, and two years later set up as a portrait painter in Wardour Street. Promising as his work undoubtedly was, his almost fatal facility, combined with a passion for the boisterous life of the streets, caused him to devote more and more of his time to depicting groups of figures in motion and to satirizing the characteristics of the society of his day. In 1781 the social

[1] *Thomas Rowlandson.* F. Grego. 2 vols. London, 1880.

pictures sent by him to the Royal Academy proved that the change from serious artist to caricaturist had begun; in 1786-87 he exhibited similar works, his name thenceforth disappearing from the catalogues. The financial difficulties of his father's last years did not affect Rowlandson, as his aunt liberally supplied him with money, and at her death left him £7000, which he squandered at gaming tables, exclaiming, when left penniless after a night's sitting, 'I've played the fool, but here' (holding up his pencils), 'here is my resource.'

From the first he succceded without apparent effort, throwing off many hundreds of drawings, tinted with a most delicate sense of colour. This feeling for the use of pure clear colour did much to forward the advancement of water-colour painting. It seems as if there were no branch of art in which he might not have excelled. He sometimes etched and aquatinted his own drawings, though they were more frequently handed over to an engraver. He certainly could have made a first-rate landscape painter, and his mastery of the etching needle showed his command of the technique of engraving. But his facility of invention, and riotous imagination backed with a superabundant vitality, together with his association with Gillray, Wigstead and Bunbury, seem to have forced him into the ranks of the caricaturists, and it is possibly again due to Ackermann that we have even so much as we have of his more serious achievement. He took a prominent part in the Napoleonic satire that raged in England during the time of Bonaparte's attempts to

become the despot of Europe, and though we are now ashamed of this incident in our literary past, it was in truth but the coarse attempt of a coarse age to show its patriotic zeal. The caricaturists, however, undoubtedly helped to manufacture a good deal of ignorant antipathy, with the well-merited result that their unattractive efforts to encourage patriotism are among the least sought-after of their works. Whether his subject were Napoleon or Vauxhall, *Dr Syntax* or the *Microcosm of London*, political and social satire occupied him until his death. His illustrations to the novelists were less successful; *Peter Pindar* was more akin to his genius than the *Vicar of Wakefield*, and none of his enduring work lies in this section. William Combe supplied him with material for some of his most congenial efforts, not only in *Dr Syntax*, but in *Johnny Quæ Genus* and the *English Dance of Death*.

In spite of his gambling and pleasure-loving propensities, Rowlandson in 1800 married a Miss Stuart of Camberwell, but left no children. 'Master Rowley' seems to have inspired considerable affection in his time, and to J. T. Smith, both friend and pupil, we owe a sketch of him as an old man which has the interest of being thirty years later in date than any other portrait. He died in his rooms in the Adelphi after a two years' illness in 1827.

No better picture of the rollicking life of the day led by Rowlandson and his associates can be found than that given by his school friend and intimate, Henry Angelo the fencing-master, in his *Reminiscences*. Here we read of the fun and frolic of his boyhood, his life

in Paris, the evenings at Vauxhall with John Bannister the comedian, the drinking and gambling that filled up the intervals of work. W. H. Pyne, too, has left some pleasant gossip of him in *Wine and Walnuts*—'the merry wag,' as he calls him, "he who has covered with his never-flagging pencil enough of charta pura to placard the whole walls of China, and etched as much copper as would sheathe the British navy." And again, "Master Rowley, so friendly dubbed by many an old convive, would have taken higher flights had he so willed, for he could draw with elegance and grace; and for design, no mind was ever better stored with thought, no genius more prolific. Nothing, even allowing for caricature, could exceed in spirit and intelligence some of the offhand compositions of this worthy."[1]

At a time when Rowlandson was producing drawings faster even than the demand for them, Ackermann seems to have foreseen that it might be necessary to find a fresh outlet if the artist's prices were not to be lowered. In this way it occurred to him that Rowlandson's talents might be applied to book illustration for their mutual profit. The monthly publications already described offered an ample field, and henceforth the artist was at least assured of a living. As regards the preparation of his drawings for illustration the method of procedure seems to have been as follows. From a carefully-finished drawing of the original design he himself etched the outline straight on to a copper plate. On an impression taken from this plate he put in the shadows, distances and modelling of forms in Indian

[1] *Somerset House Gazette*, ii. p. 347.

ink. The print was then handed to one of Ackermann's engravers, who transferred the shadows in aquatint to the copperplate. Another proof was then taken, which Rowlandson most carefully coloured as a model for the staff of 'washers' kept by Ackermann for the hand-colouring of the thousands of prints required for his fine-art publications.

Aquatint was used by Rowlandson in a great many of his book illustrations as well as in several detached plates and caricatures. The list given in Appendix D is possibly not quite complete. Grego's list of books with plates by Rowlandson, full as it is, does not contain all; and some additional ones are given in F. Lewine's *Bibliography of Eighteenth Century Art and Illustrated Books.* Only personal inspection, however, can decide which books have etchings only or etching in combination with aquatint, and there are still a few that we have been unable to trace.

Not the least important of Ackermann's collaborators was William Henry Pyne (1769-1843), etcher and painter as well as writer, though perhaps best known through the delightful gossip about art and artists, published under the name of Ephraim Hardcastle. The son of a leather-seller in Holborn, he was placed in the drawing-school of Henry Pars, to whom he declined to be apprenticed, but under whose tuition he obtained a great facility in drawing. His work for a long time consisted principally of landscapes, drawn in water colours in the early tinted style. He was an exhibitor at the Royal Academy for the first time in 1790, and for the last in 1811, having become one of its bitterest opponents, and was also one

of the original members of the Old Water Colour Society when it was founded in 1804. His name will be found, both as artist and author, on several of the books in Appendix A. His first work in book illustration was a title-page and vignettes etched by him for Natte's *Practical Geometry*, published in 1805; in the same year he began to issue, in parts, his *Microcosm*, a work of considerable charm and interest, which is still to be acquired for a comparatively small sum. The title describes it in detail:—*Microcosm, or a Picturesque Delineation of the Arts, Agriculture and Manufactures of Great Britain in a Series of above a Thousand Groups of Small Figures for the Embellishment of Landscape . . . the whole accurately drawn from nature and etched by W. H. Pyne, and aquatinted by J. Hill, to which are added explanations of the Plates by C. Gray.* Some of the original drawings for this work are in the Print Room of the British Museum. His next work was *The Costume of Great Britain*, which appeared in 1808, designed, engraved and written by himself. It was the seventh and last volume of an important series of books on costume illustrated chiefly in stipple and published by W. Miller between 1801 and 1808, the volumes being sold at a price of six to eight guineas, and all except Pyne's work having a French as well as English text. The whole set, comprising 373 engravings, was published at £48, 16s. 6d. Pyne's book, illustrated in aquatint, is by far the best of the series, and the charm noticeable in the groups and rustic figures of the *Microcosm* is even more apparent where he is illustrating old English customs

and occupations. He had an instinct for the different types of the working classes, which is very obvious in such plates as *Coalheavers* and a *Smithfield Drover*. *The Costumes of Great Britain* was followed in 1812 by *Rudiments of Landscape Drawing in a Series of Easy Examples*, with aquatint plates; *Etchings of Rustic Figures for the Embellishment of Landscape in* 1815; and *On Rustic Figures in Imitation of Chalk* in 1817, the two last being in hard and soft ground etching respectively.

Pyne became connected with Ackermann about 1803, and came by degrees to occupy himself more with writing than painting, providing the text or part of it for many of Ackermann's publications. It is not perhaps surprising that, being himself designer, painter, engraver and author, he should become enamoured of book production. His great effort in this direction was the large and costly work entitled *The History of the Royal Residences of Windsor Castle, St James's Palace, Carlton House, Kensington Palace, Hampton Court, Buckingham House and Frogmore*, illustrated by one hundred coloured aquatint views and published by Ackermann in 1829. Pyne only wrote the text; of the original drawings fifty-nine were by C. Wild, twenty-five by J. Stephanoff, nine by R. Cattermole, six by W. Westall and one by G. Samuel. Of these thirty-six are engraved by T. Sutherland, twenty-three by W. J. Bennett, twenty-eight by R. Reeve, eleven by D. Havell, and two by J. Bailey. There is a copy of *The Royal Residences* in the National Art Library with no hand colouring, from which we see that the interior views had only one printed colour and the exteriors two—a blue for the sky and a brown for

buildings and foregrounds. It is very instructive to compare this with the fine finished copy in the British Museum which has the addition of expert colouring by hand. It is undoubtedly a very sumptuous book for which author, artist, engraver and publisher alike did their best, but, though successful, it involved Pyne in serious money difficulties, and he was more than once confined for debt in the King's Bench Prison. The chief work of his later life, his easy chat on men and manners, has supplied many a word picture to writers on the art of his time. The papers contributed to W. Jerdan's *Literary Gazette* were republished in 1823 as *Wine and Walnuts, or After Dinner Chit Chat*, and Pyne also edited *The Somerset House Gazette*, which appeared in fifty-two weekly numbers at 6d., the year's work being subsequently collected in two small quarto volumes which, like his earlier books, are a storehouse of anecdote and a valuable record of contemporary art. He also contributed to two other important magazines of the time, *Arnold's Magazine of the Fine Arts* and *Library of the Fine Arts*, both of which give much valuable contemporary criticism.

Pyne received in the course of his long life abundant recognition, both at home and from foreign academies, but as an old man he lived in obscurity and neglect, and died after a long illness in 1843.

Among Pyne's associates and assistants in the *Royal Residences* was John Buonarotti Papworth (1775-1847), one of Ackermann's most prominent supporters, not only an architect of considerable repute, but also a designer of decorations, furniture and every sort of accessory to

the house, and particularly of shop fronts for the display of gas and plate glass, in addition to which he was frequently employed as a landscape gardener. In 1813 he built the great hall (56 ft. × 20 ft.) together with the tea-room and staircase, for Ackermann's premises in the Strand, intended as a lounge for visitors and a show-room for the newest works of art of all kinds. He also contributed both prose and verse, as well as drawings, to the *Repository*, and confided to Ackermann the publication of the most important of his many works. His *Select Views of London*, containing seventy-six unsigned plates to which he wrote the text, is a very interesting record of past London, with representations of City churches and other topographical features now no longer in existence. The Preface opens with the following sententious introduction: "The Metropolis of a country so distinguished for its opulence, for the munificence of its public bodies, and the liberality of its individuals, must be interesting in all its features. The portraits of its palaces, churches, public buildings and squares, are useful commentaries of its history—they present documents of our national character, and record the progressive advancement of our commerce, science and arts." It goes on to state that the republication was "increased by several Plates, those which had previously appeared having been under the hands of the engraver for improvement and higher finish." He also wrote fourteen chapters of the *Poetical Sketches of Scarborough*, a light social satire illustrated with twenty-one attractive plates etched by Rowlandson after J. Green, the aquatint being added by J. Bluck and J. C. Stadler. The

Advertisement states that "the originals of the plates introduced into this volume were sketches made as souvenirs of the place during a visit to Scarborough in the season of 1812. They were not intended for publication, but being found to interest many persons of taste, several of whom expressed a desire to possess engravings of them; and some gentlemen having offered to add metrical illustrations to each the present form of publication has been adopted. The several authors were not personally acquainted with each other:—if this circumstance, and that of every design having been made previously to the composition of a single couplet, be considered fair ground of extenuation for faults, they claim its advantages." Then follows a pleasant account of Scarborough in very amusing doggerel to which Combe was also a contributor.

Augustus Pugin (1762-1832), who made so many drawings for *The Microcosm of London*, *The History of the Abbey Church of St Peter's, Westminster*, and the *Histories of the Universities and Colleges*, was born in France and came to England at the time of the French Revolution, having fought a duel in Paris which obliged him to leave the country. He at once found a post as draughtsman to John Nash, already a celebrated architect, and, in order to become more useful to his employer entered as a student at the Royal Academy. Remembering that a drawing-master to his father's family in France lived somewhere in London, Pugin made inquiries and found that the person in question was Merigot, the aquatint engraver, under whose tuition he made great progress. The contemporary passion for

building private houses in imitation of mediæval castles and monastic buildings suggested to Nash that Pugin might collect materials for a publication on Gothic architecture. Pugin threw himself into the work with great enthusiasm, and soon became an architectural draughtsman of considerable repute. He travelled with his pupils over Europe in order to sketch and measure such details of buildings as seemed to him desirable, and his first work, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, was dedicated to Nash. The plates which formed his first introduction to book illustration are for the most part of a high order of merit. Augustus Pugin was thus the great pioneer in the introduction of Gothic architecture into England, though it was left to his son Augustus Welby to adapt it successfully to modern needs. The interest in Gothic architecture which Nash had thus aroused in Pugin resulted in his office soon becoming the most popular training school for young artists, and a large number of pupils, some of whom attained distinction, passed through his hands. Benjamin Ferrey, author of *Recollections of the Pugins*, was a pupil, so also was Joseph Nash, while Charles James Matthews, son of Pugin's old friend the actor, though destined to follow in his father's footsteps, came to him for four years. Matthews, in the *Autobiography* edited by Charles Dickens, gives a pleasant picture of his master. "Water-colour drawing," he says, "was at that time in its infancy, and architects flew to him to have their plans and elevations put into correct perspective and surrounded with the well-executed and appropriate landscapes Pugin was so skilful in producing. . . . He was

a delightful instructor. In business hours strict enough and firm enough to command obedience and respect, at other times he was all gaiety and good humour, making himself quite the companion of his pupils, and joining in all their amusements with the ardour of a boy. It was a singular fact that, though he had been domesticated in England for some forty years, and spoke English perfectly, as far as volubility was concerned, his French accent and his French idioms were as marked as if he had only recently arrived. If he talked in his sleep he talked in French, and in computing money he always mentally reduced the pounds and shillings into francs before he could ascertain their exact value. He was a charming artist, and produced his effects by the most simple means, confining himself literally to the use of the three colours—indigo, light red, and yellow ochre." [1]

Another architect who became known about two years after Pugin, and who also devoted himself to spreading a knowledge of Gothic architecture, was Charles Wild (1781-1835), who was articled in early youth to Thomas Malton, Turner's master in perspective. In 1803 he began to exhibit at the Royal Academy, and in 1809 became an associate of the Old Water Colour Society, of which in later life he was treasurer and secretary. In 1807 he began a long series of studies of English Cathedrals for the fine volumes published under his name, and contributed fifty-nine out of the hundred drawings for the illustration of Pyne's *Royal Residences*, and three plates to Sir George Naylor's *Coronation of*

[1] *The Life of Charles James Matthews.* Edited by Charles Dickens. 2 vols., 1879.

George IV. The latter is a ponderous work with highly coloured plates, mostly of costume, in aquatint, mezzotint and stipple, those after Wild, the Proclamation at Carlton House and the Royal Banquet in Westminster Hall, being the most interesting. Like Prout, he went to sketch abroad as soon as the Continent was open after the war, and prepared a number of studies of the foreign cathedrals similar to the English series already published. After the year 1827 he became gradually blind, and in 1833 resigned his membership of the Old Water Colour Society, having contributed in all one hundred and eight pictures to its exhibitions. The number of works illustrated by him is very considerable; some contain etchings, some line engravings, others again aquatints, the last volume not being published till after his death.

In Ferrey's *Recollections of the Pugins*, we find the following record of John Nash, "the humble builder of Swansea":—"Perhaps no professional man ever attained greater success in his pursuits than John Nash. He was the especial favourite of George IV., being his private architect, and engaged by the king to make the alterations and additions at Buckingham Palace; he also built the Pavilion at Brighton. Possessed of a large professional income, Nash lived in a style of some splendour at his house in Regent Street, receiving his employers in a spacious and beautiful gallery, adorned with the choicest sculpture and pictures; and possessing East Cowes Castle in the Isle of Wight, where he was visited by many of the leading families of the aristocracy."

It was in the year 1820, when engaged in building

the Pavilion at Brighton, that Nash received the King's commands to produce a printed work that could be given as a souvenir to his royal guests. Nash requested Pugin to make the drawings, and the result was a volume of some importance. Each plate is in duplicate, the one being a delicate pen and ink outline-drawing, the other a highly finished coloured aquatint.

Nash designed the Regent's Park and most of its adjacent crescents, built Regent Street, the Quadrant, the Haymarket opera and theatre houses, the United Service Club, the Marble Arch, and laid out St James's Park; he had indeed a great opportunity, and it must be a constant regret that he did not prove himself more worthy of it. His monotonous use of stucco drew upon him the well-known epigram in the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1826:—

> "Augustus at Rome was for building renown'd,
> For of marble he left what of brick he had found;
> But is not our Nash, too, a very great master,
> He finds us all brick and he leaves us all plaster."

Frederick Nash (1782-1856) was another architect and draftsman whose work, that of an accomplished painter, gave great distinction to Ackermann's *History of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge*. He was no relation either to John Nash, the architect just mentioned, or to Joseph Nash, whose work belongs to a later date. He was in the Academy schools in the early days of the presidency of West, and at the age of eighteen exhibited his first view of Westminster Abbey, a subject to which he recurred again and again. For the next ten years he was in the service of engravers, con-

tributing twenty drawings to Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales* between 1801 and 1809, five plates to the same editor's *Architectural Antiquities* in 1807, *Twelve Views of the Antiquities of London* in 1805-10, and *A Series of Views of the Collegiate Chapel of St George at Windsor*, nine aquatint plates for which he wrote the explanatory text. He was a member of the Associated Artists and of the Old Water Colour Society, and in 1803 was appointed draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries, his work for them being engraved as the *Vetusta Monumenta*. Another important work which he illustrated was *Picturesque Views of the City of Paris and its Environs*, published in two quarto volumes in 1819-23. He received five hundred guineas for these drawings, which were subsequently bought by Sir Thomas Lawrence for £250, after they had been engraved in line. One of these, *The Waterworks at Versailles*, is at South Kensington, and shows that in these drawings of Paris he adopted a style much lighter and gayer than that which characterised the more sombre and dignified work done for the Ackermann books.

Thomas Uwins (1782-1857), one of the younger members of the Water Colour Society, drew the faces and figures in the coloured fashion-plates of the *Repository*, and also contributed some of the critical articles. He had started in life by making designs for book illustration, and copying pictures for engravers, at a time when line engraving was an important branch of art. His other work for Ackermann consisted in seventeen drawings of costume for the *History of the University of Oxford*, and fifteen for the *History of the University*

of Cambridge, all engraved in line and stipple by J. Agar, as well as four drawings, likewise of costume, for the *History of the Colleges*, rendered in line by the same engraver.

Frederick Mackenzie (1788-1854) was a pupil of John Adey Repton, the architect, a son of Humphrey Repton, to whom the next chapter is devoted, who, together with his brother, John Stanley, a pupil of Augustus Pugin, worked for John Nash. Like so many draughtsmen with an architectural training, Mackenzie devoted himself to topographical drawing for the press instead of to actual construction. Like Prout, he owed his early start to Britton the architectural antiquary, and was first associated with John and Henry Le Keux in *The Beauties of England and Wales*. He also contributed twenty-five designs to the *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, fifty-eight of the plates to Britton's *Cathedral Antiquities*, and collaborated with Pugin in his *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*. Of his work in connection with Ackermann's finest publications, we note that thirty-two of the drawings of *The History of the Abbey Church of St Peter's, Westminster*, are by him, nineteen in *The History of the University of Oxford*, twenty in the *History of the University of Cambridge*, and fourteen in *The History of the Colleges*. He was associated likewise with William Westall in *The Abbeys and Castles of Yorkshire*, and with Robert Havell in his *Series of Picturesque Views of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats*, both published by Ackermann. Mackenzie was a member of the Old Water Colour Society, but was not a prolific exhibitor, and his subjects

consisted almost entirely of buildings and interiors. Together with Nash and Pugin he forms a triumvirate of architectural draftsmen who both separately and in association did much to foster an intelligent interest in the picturesque side of ancient buildings.

With the death of Rudolph Ackermann the great artistic era of his Press may be said to have ended; but many interesting works continued to appear, and among them we may note the *Epitome, Historical and Statistical, descriptive of the Royal Naval Service of England*, by E. Miles and Lieutenant L. Miles (1841) The eight coloured plates of shipping by N. Fielding, after drawings by W. Knell, are spirited and highly attractive, and the book must be one of the latest in the illustration of which aquatint was employed.

CHAPTER VII

HUMPHREY REPTON AND HIS PLACE IN GARDEN LITERATURE

Some of the finest books illustrated by the aquatint process are those of Humphrey Repton (1752-1818) of gardening fame. Originally published in one folio and three quarto volumes, they were re-issued in 1840 in an octavo volume by J. C. Loudon, author of the *Encyclopædia of Gardening*, whose historical sketch of gardening at the beginning of his dictionary is still the best comprehensive survey of the subject. Repton's books in their original form are, on account of the beauty of their aquatint plates, among the most sought-after illustrated works of the period. His matter, as well as his views of landscape gardening and landscape architecture, is full of interest, and may be most conveniently studied in Loudon's edition, where, however, the illustrations are reproduced in small vignette engravings of very poor quality, which give little idea of the originals.

Humphrey Repton was the son of John Repton, a collector of excise at Bury St Edmunds, where he was sent to school for a time until his parents removed to Norwich, a town whose manufactures were then largely exported. In 1764, Repton's father sent him to Holland, hoping to direct his interests into business channels

On his return to Norwich at the age of sixteen, he was put to learn business, but his real love was for drawing, and in later life he thus alludes to the part it played in his career:—"It was to my early facility and love of the art of drawing, that I am indebted, not only to success in my profession, but for more than half the enjoyments of my life. When I look back to the many hundred evenings passed in the circle of my own family—drawing and representing to others what I saw in my imagination, I may reckon this art among the most delightful of my joys."

He married at the age of twenty-one, and his father at once gave him enough to start in business as a general merchant. But he had no natural taste for that mode of life, and, after a few years in which losses and failures predominated, retired to the country, taking up his abode at Sustead, near Aylsham, where his sister lived in the family house. The five years that he passed there were spent in that study of every department of out-door life which yielded so rich a harvest later in his career. He amused himself by making drawings of the seats of the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood, many of which he gave to their respective owners; others went to illustrate the *History of Norfolk*, a work then being issued in ten volumes, to the letterpress of which he also contributed. He had free access to the library of his neighbour Mr Windham, and when, in 1783, Mr Windham was made Secretary to Lord Northington, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Repton went with him to Dublin as his confidential secretary. Repton's family was rapidly increasing; he could no

VIEW FROM MY OWN COTTAGE IN ESSEX.

From *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816) by Humphrey Repton.

(The line across the plate shows plainly the nature of the slide.)

longer be content with the life of leisure he had hitherto led, and the occasion seemed to offer him the opportunity he needed. But Mr Windham threw up his appointment at the end of a month, and after six weeks spent in settling the affairs of his patron, Repton returned to reconsider his position, found that it involved retrenchment, and at once removed his family to a little cottage at Harestreet, Essex, where he spent the remaining forty years of his life. This cottage, with its very small garden, was for long the admiration of the passer-by, and seems to have been an instance of what can be done by skill and taste in a very circumscribed space. For some time after his death "Repton's Cottage" was the object of many a pilgrimage, but by 1840 it had been changed beyond recognition.

Repton's next move was to associate himself with a Mr Palmer who was then occupied in an attempt to organise the postal service by means of mail coaches. So sanguine was Repton of success that he sank the remainder of his capital in the project, only to find that he was as unsuccessful in that as he had been both as merchant and farmer. But after this experience he seems to have had an intuition that he might find profit in his actual tastes and interests, and with characteristic energy he at once set to work to become what he henceforth describes himself—a Landscape Gardener. Ever since his early days in Holland he had studied the adaptation of natural scenery to gardens, and his description of the grounds bordering Dutch waterways, as seen from a canal-boat, sums up in a vivid picture all the features of the formal garden nationalised by a people

whose ideas of landscape were limited by the small and artificial character of their country. Henceforth Repton was consulted alike by the greatest landowner and the smallest proprietor who desired to modify his country estate in accordance with the changing taste of the times and the self-conscious attitude of the public mind towards nature.

As he travelled in a carriage from house to house on these professional visits, he adopted a habit of writing notes concerning the improvement of the place he had visited, and these he bound in a small book containing maps and sketches showing the alterations proposed. This he called the Red Book of the place, and it is from the opinions collected in two hundred such volumes and borrowed, as he tells us, from the respective owners for the purpose, that he composed his published works, sometimes adopting only the substance, sometimes quoting the actual words. The plates are facsimiles of his sketches in these books, engraved in aquatint by various artists, and it is evident that from the first they excited considerable admiration. On more than one occasion he deprecated the exclusive attention paid them, and in his *Advertisement* to the second of his publications, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803) he says: "I must therefore entreat that the plates be rather considered as necessary than ornamental; they are introduced to illustrate the arguments rather than attract the attention. I wish to make my appeal less to the eye than to the understanding."

As Repton occupies a very definite place in the

history of gardening, it may be of interest to explain that position by a brief survey of the growth of gardens. His books also occupy an equally definite place in garden literature, a topic of fascinating interest for all time.

Though outside the scope of this chapter, it may be said in passing that it is possible to trace the complete development of the English language in the literature of this subject alone. There are, in fact, few English writers in whose works one cannot find some gem of fancy or some flawless phrase that has for inspiration the theme of gardens.

Down to the last half of the eighteenth century, the prevailing style of laying out the grounds that surround a house had been that generally known as Architectural, though sometimes called also Geometrical or Regular. But whatever the title, the underlying idea was the same, that of considering the grounds as one with the house, part of a comprehensive scheme designed by the architect and following the lines of the buildings.

The earliest gardens, those of monasteries, were planned rather from the point of view of convenience than of pleasure. In them simples were grown from which were made the common remedies for sickness, as well as the ordinary herbs used in the kitchen, an important addition, considering that monks were bound by their vows to eat only pulse, vegetables and fruit gathered by their own hands. These gardens were generally a parallelogram enclosed by a wall, with the different herbs and flowers grown in separate plots.

The characteristics of the Tudor garden were moats and walls, at whose corners, or in prominent parts of

the enclosure, were placed 'mounds' or 'mounts' ascended by steps, from which a prospect could be obtained over the open country. These mounts were formed of stone, wood or earth, sometimes turfed or terraced, at others surmounted by trees, or an arbour with climbing plants. Flowers were in 'railed beds,' beds surrounded by 'wands' or railings of low trellis-work, often painted in the Tudor colours of green and white, a form of enclosure subsequently succeeded by box edging. In the sixteenth century there were in addition 'knotted beds,' laid out in intricate geometrical patterns in very varied designs or in fanciful shapes of animals, such as are alluded to in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act i., sc. i., 'the west corner of thy curious knotted garden'; and by Bacon, in his Essay *Of Gardens*, where we read of the ideal garden, its *Greene*, its *Stately Hedge*, its *Faire Mount*, and its *Covert Alley;* "As for the Making of *Knots*, or *Figures*, with *Divers Coloured Earths*, . . . they be but Toyes: You may see as good Sights, many times, in Tarts." There were also arbours or garden houses built into the garden walls, against which were placed 'galleries' made of poles and trellis-work planted with creepers. Dials and fish-ponds, again, were typical features, and, perhaps most characteristic of all, the 'topiary' work, in which trees were grown and cut to some quaint pattern—a fashion that lasted well into the eighteenth century, and was more than once satirised by Pope.

In Italy, France and Holland the same geometrical style prevailed, though modified by the special geographical and national characteristics of the three

countries. In Italy, a hilly country, where national taste demands the architectural style, there were grand flights of steps, terrace walls from which to look out over the adjoining landscape, gates and pillars, vases, statues and fountains, all the sculptured accessories in fact that pertain to building. In the time of Elizabeth Italy was the country that swayed the taste of England in landscape, as well as in literature and the fine arts, and the Tudor gardens, while retaining the features above mentioned, were modified in accordance with Italian taste. There were wide terraces, flights of steps of fine proportions, straight walks or 'forthrights,' corresponding to the lines of the building, while the patterns of beds and mazes were planned to harmonize with the details and tracery of the architecture. The garden, in short, laid out in connection with the house was no mere adjunct, but part of a whole and included in the original design. "The form that men like in general is a square," says William Lawson in *The New Orchard* (1618), "because it doth best agree with a man's dwelling." Wrought-iron gates of elaborated pattern were let into the walls, for the idea still prevailed that a garden should be a 'garth' or enclosure, and nearly two centuries were to elapse before the unenclosed garden was developed on æsthetic principles. As the garden remained walled, the mount was extended into the terrace, which also served to discover distant prospects. The mounts themselves, however, remained an important feature, for it was an age of pageants, and such points of view were a practical necessity. A great attraction in the Elizabethan garden was the 'covert walk' or

'pleached alley' (so called from the word *plesser*, to plait), formed by two rows of trees such as willows, limes, wych elms and hornbeams, whose interwoven boughs cast a pleasant shade. Sometimes these pleached alleys were treated as galleries and placed on sculptured columns, thus giving a more intimate architectural connection with the buildings, a treatment much approved by Bacon. The complicated knotted beds of an earlier time gave place to open ones of a simpler kind, and flowers were planted in borders by the walks and hedges. Along the terraces or at the side of the walks were lead or stone vases or great Turkey jars filled with flowers, while statues and fountains occupied the open spaces.

One may study the Tudor and Elizabethan gardens in contemporary plans and views. The earliest illustrations which are naturally to be found in manuscripts, are not very enlightening, in consequence of their complete absence of perspective, while during the first half of the eighteenth century the habitual representation of garden and landscape was of the bird's-eye type so familiar in Kip's *Britannia Illustrata*. But the best field for the lover of gardens lies in the county histories of the last half of the seventeenth century, notably the views of our Universities in *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675), and *Cantabrigia Illustrata* (1688), drawn by David Loggan, a native of Dantzic. The gardens of colleges being less subject to changes than those of private individuals, these views are probably as faithful records of an earlier time as they are of the period to which they belong — a period, too, when topographical drawing,

being directly in the service of architecture, was at its best. Michael Burgher, a Dutchman settled at Oxford, engraved many of the headings for the *Oxford Almanack*, as well as other plates; his views, like those of Loggan, show more feeling for composition and the ordinary rules of perspective than Kip's cruder work. Nevertheless, for the representation of houses and gardens during the reign of Queen Anne and the two first Georges, *Britannia Illustrata* must always be a mine of interest. Its four large volumes, published between 1709 and 1763, are alone sufficient to prove that depicting the 'seats of the nobility and gentry' was one of the staple artistic industries of the time, and the fashion was destined to continue for more than a century.

The particular characteristics of these quaint and artificial productions, which have a charm of their own, are well set forth by Roget.[1] "The views are framed on a curious union of distinct systems of perspective, having, it may be, three different horizons to one picture. Of the main object, usually a grand Elizabethan or Jacobean mansion standing amidst avenues and gardens laid out in the quaint geometrical style of the time, we have perhaps a strictly bird's-eye view; but the winged observer drops to a lower level to survey the distant landscape; while living objects in the foreground are seen as by a spectator on foot. . . . Notwithstanding the inconsistency of their arrangement, these representations convey a curious sense of reality. They are carefully, in many cases vigorously, engraved;

[1] *History of the Old Water Colour Society*, J. L. Roget, 1891. Vol. i. p. 11.

and the whole scene being represented in full sunshine, the several objects are made to stand out solidly from the earth; and a certain unity is effected which prevents an uneducated eye from perceiving the incongruity of the drawing."

Still more satisfactory, perhaps, are the word-pictures of gardens that are to be found throughout the whole of English literature. The best descriptions of earlier pleasaunces are those in Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresside*, in *The King's Quhair*, and in Lydgate, while a hundred years later, Leland, in his *Itinerary*, sets forth the results of many years of travelling through England and Wales as antiquary to Henry VIII. But the flower of garden literature is associated with Elizabethan times. We have passages in Spenser and Sir Philip Sidney, which though treating of the ideal garden, are no doubt the record of the places actually seen, and best of all Bacon's Essay, the visionary representation in which all styles combine in his imagination to form the perfect type. Some of the most detailed accounts of English gardens are those of foreign travellers who visited England, notably Paul Hentzner, who, when he came over in 1598, described Theobalds, then belonging to Lord Burleigh, Nonesuch, one of the royal residences of Henry VIII., Hatfield, Holland House, Kensington, and the Earl of Pembroke's garden at Wilton.

In a style as charming, if not so stately as that of Bacon, William Lawson wrote in the *New Orchard and Garden* already referred to, a book that won for him the title of the Isaac Walton of Gardeners;—"When you behold in divers

corners of your Orchard *Mounts* of stone, or wood curiously wrought within and without, or of earth covered with fruit trees, Kentish Cherry, Damsons, Plumes, etc. With stones of precious workmanship. And in some corner (or more) a true Dyall or Clock, and some anticke worke, and especially silver sounding Musique, mixt Instruments & voyces, gracing all the rest: How will you be rapt with delight?" In 1638 we find Milton sanctioning the old formal garden by sending 'Retired Leisure' to 'take his pleasure' in 'trim gardens,' but in *Paradise Lost* he had recanted his error by a description of the finest natural garden ever conceived, that tended by Adam and Eve in Paradise. Cowley's ideal garden was perhaps more cultivated, but equally 'natural,' while we have in Sir Thomas Browne an advocate of the formal garden, who, in the *Garden of Cyrus*, writes of the "Quintuple section of a cone, of handsome practise in Ornamental Garden plots," and of the "delights, commodities, mysteries" belonging to the Quincunx in the formation of a garden as elsewhere. Later on we have John Evelyn's *Diary* and Sir William Temple's essay on the *Gardens of Epicurus*, in which he describes Moor Park in Hertfordshire as "the perfectest Figure of a Garden I ever saw either at Home or Abroad." And so, passing by many another name among the masters of English prose, we come to the group of writers who engaged in the great controversy concerning the irregular or natural garden, of whom Repton was almost the last.

During the latter half of the seventeenth century the planning of English pleasure-grounds received a

most powerful impulse from the splendid style of Le Nôtre (1620-1700), the high priest of gardening in the architectural style. As head gardener to Louis XIV. and Comptroller-General of Buildings and Gardens, he created Versailles, though not as we know it, for under the hands of subsequent 'improvers' it has lost almost every trace of the magnificent whole it was in the days of the Grand Monarque. St Cloud was also his invention; the Roman villas Pamfili and Ludovisi were built from his plans; and though it is not quite clear that he accepted Charles II.'s invitation to England, it is generally believed that St James's Park and various alterations at Whitehall and Hampton Court were made under his directions. His contemporary was Jean de la Quintinye (1626-1700), whose reputation in the kitchen-garden equalled that of Le Nôtre in the pleasure-garden. He originated the training of fruit trees on espaliers, and his *Compleat Gardner*, with its wonderful illustrations of grafting and pruning, was translated by John Evelyn (1620-1706), whose *Sylva* did so much for the improvement of arboriculture in England. It is, then, not surprising that the influence of France was predominant during a considerable period. Rapin, who laid down the law on so many subjects, produced a Latin poem on Gardens, which was translated into English verse by James Gardiner in 1706. The Earl of Essex sent his gardener Rose to study at Versailles; on his return he was made royal gardener to Charles II. Loudon, also gardener to the king, was a pupil of Rose, but with him is associated the beginning of the reaction to a less formal

style. Nor can we overestimate the influence of Evelyn, whose *Journal of his Grand Tour*, as well as his *Kalendarum Hortense*, or *Gardener's Almanac*, are among the most important contributions to garden literature. He helped to lay out many gardens, and throughout a long life, which included interests so far apart as the practice of engraving, on which he wrote a valuable treatise, a knowledge of numismatics, and the discovery and patronage of Grinling Gibbons, he was a recognized authority on architecture and landscape gardening.

It was natural that in the reign of William and Mary the influence of Holland should, to a certain extent, supersede that of France; the styles were, however, largely the same, save that the vast ideas of Le Nôtre, which required exceptional space for their fulfilment, were superseded by something like the same ideas seen through a diminishing-glass. The minute scale of Dutch gardens, coupled with their trivial detail and insignificant ornament, were luckily carried out in this country with considerable modifications. Hampton Court, amongst other places, received some alterations in accordance with the new influence, and Kip's view of it in *Britannia Illustrata* shows the gardens at their best during Queen Anne's reign. In the introduction by William of Orange of wrought-iron gates or *clair-voyées* into the stone walls we see a further development of the idea of mounts as places from which to look upon the landscape without, and a foreshadowing of the later feeling for the clearance of all boundaries. The gardens of this time had innumerable fountains

and waterworks of every description. The idea, taken from abroad, had struck root in Tudor days, but Dutch gardens were full of them, and now, thanks doubtless to Le Nôtre, they were in greater fashion than ever. There were bowling alleys, too, hedges of evergreen, and shorn shrubs in boxes. The Dutch style, exaggerating as it did the artificial disposition of garden material, caused a riot in topiary work which soon became typical of the decadence of the formal school, and rapidly brought about its supersession. 'Parterres' now took the place of 'knots': these consisted of fine turf, says Sir Thomas Hanney, "cut out curiously into embroidery of flowers,[1] and shapes of arabesques, animals or birds or feuillages, and the small alleys or intervals filled with several coloured sands and dust with much art, with but few flowers in such knots, and those only such as grow very low, lest they spoil the beauty of such embroidery." In the *Retired Gardener*, translated from the French of Louis Liger by London and Wise, eleven sorts of parterres are described with illustrations. The Diary of Celia Fiennes, entitled *Through England on a Side-Saddle in the Time of William and Mary*, gives an interesting account of the gardens throughout the country. To this reign and that of Queen Anne belong the celebrated gardeners, London and Wise, already mentioned, and the first of a succession of designers in the landscape style, of whom Repton was about the last. George London (d. 1717) was the chief founder of the Brompton Nurseries, and, at some

[1] *Cf.* "And gladiators fight, or die, in flowers."
POPE, *Epistle to the Earl of Burlington.*

period, superintendent of the royal gardens. A pupil of Rose, he made more than one expedition to France, and in conjunction with Henry Wise, whom he took into partnership, constructed gardens in many parts of England. Later on, when Wise was appointed to the care of the Royal gardens by Queen Anne, London made riding circuits of the principal gardens of England. They were popular writers, too, at a time when gardening literature was increasing, and translated from the French the *Compleat Gardner* of Jean de la Quintinye, the *Retired Gardener* of Louis Liger, and the *Solitary Gardener* of Le Gentil. They were succeeded by Stephen Switzer, whom they had trained, and whose *Ichnographia Rustica* (1718) shows plainly that the end of Formal Gardening was at hand. Before passing to the landscape style that replaced the architectural, attention must be drawn to the influence brought to bear upon the change of taste by Pope and Addison and other contemporary writers. Loudon says that the principles of English gardening were undoubtedly first laid down by English writers, and with Pope and Addison we certainly get the earliest expression of the revolution that was to be so transforming to the gardens of England. Pope killed the fashion of shorn shrubs in his satirical paper, No. 173 of the *Guardian*, so often quoted, and set forth his views with clearness in his epistle to Lord Burlington on the æsthetic of gardens. Addison voiced the same feeling in less stilted language in his paper on the Pleasure of a Garden in No. 477 of the *Spectator*. Both indeed made gardens in which they tried to carry

out their theories in practice; but neither seems to have escaped the artificial, and Pope's attempt at Twickenham would appear to have been as grotesque and fantastic a travesty of nature as anything that can be imagined. Other writers there were, such as Dyer, Thomson, and Shenstone, who gave matter for reflection to the new school of gardeners, and opinion was henceforth divided as to whether inspiration should be sought in the poets or in the painters whose 'compositions' were also proposed to them as models.

The fact is that a too self-conscious study of beauty and its influence on the mind had produced a set of writers who revelled in all sorts of theories as to the effect on sensibility of both nature and art, and who were not satisfied until they had reduced the results of their reflections to a set of formulæ in which could be found recipes for the production of a varied range of emotions. The 'discovery' of nature and its rendering in the new-found art of water-colour painting helped to bring about this literature of æsthetics, and no one could look at any scene of mountain or plain, ruin or torrent, without stating and analysing the effect it had upon himself. To take up any of the books devoted to this subject during the last part of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth is to move in a false atmosphere of feeling with no footing on the solid earth. W. Shenstone's *Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening*, W. Gilpin's *Essays on Picturesque Beauty and Picturesque Travel*, Uvedale Price's *Essays on the Picturesque*, to name but a few of the scores of such treatises, are sufficient evidence of the spirit that went to the study

of nature. Thus the gardeners of the time, who used art to produce a system of nature, fell into a pit dug by themselves, and the so-called natural school that they introduced became more unnatural than the formal school that they displaced.

This return to nature then was the great revolution in gardening of the latter half of the eighteenth century, but there had been some few earlier indications of the impending change. Even in Elizabethan times men's minds had turned in imagination from the studied formality of the day, and when the new conception had thoroughly taken hold of public taste much dispute arose as to the true inventor of the modern garden. Then it was recalled that Milton had foreshadowed it in *Paradise Lost*, that Bacon had spoken against the 'Images cut out in Garden stuff,' and that Wotton had said in his *Elements of Architecture*, "I must note a certain contrariety between *building* and *gardening;* for as *Fabricks* should be *regular*, so *Gardens* should be *irregular*, or at least cast into a very wild *Regularity*." Foreign authors wrote that we had borrowed it from the Chinese, but Englishmen preferred, for the most part, to agree with the poet Gray, who writes to W. T. How[1];— "He (Count Algarotti) is highly civil to our nation, but there is one little point in which he does not do us justice. I am the more solicitous about it because it relates to the only taste we can call our own, the only proof of our original talent in the matter of pleasure; I mean our skill in gardening, and laying out gardens. That the Chinese have this beautiful art in high

[1] Letter from Thomas Gray to William Taylor How. September 10, 1763.

perfection seems very probable from the "Jesuits' Letters," and more from Chambers' little discourse, published some years ago; but it is very certain we copied nothing from them, nor had anything but nature for our model. It is not forty years since the art was born among us, and it is sure that there was nothing in Europe like it, and as sure we then had no information on this head from China at all." There is, however, no doubt that an important stimulus had been given to the rural garden by the book on the Emperor of China's gardens at Pekin mentioned by Gray, a description in the form of letters by Père Attiret, one of the French Jesuit missionaries, which had been translated by Joseph Spence in 1752. Sir William Temple even had written on Chinese gardens—a fact which lessens the value of Gray's boast that modern English gardening "had no information" as to Chinese methods when it first arose—and Sir William Chambers, architect to George II., who had lived in China in his youth, supported the enthusiasm created by the Letters, and when made Superintendent of the Royal Gardens at Kew, laid out part of them in the Chinese style. He also wrote among other things, a dissertation on *Oriental Gardening*, which brought upon him a shower of ridicule. The characteristic of the Chinese style may be briefly stated as the refusal to allow a garden to be limited by the natural disposition of the ground, whatever that might be. Mountains were constructed where required, rivers and rivulets constrained to form lakes, and paths tortured and twisted to give the serpentine line that nature was supposed to prefer. William

Mason, poet and biographer, in his poem of the *English Garden*, 1772, also gave currency to this fashion, which was destined to prevail in England for a considerable time. George Mason, in his *Essay on Design in Gardening*, 1768, one of the earliest prose works on the natural style, ascribes the modern garden to English experiments in the Chinese manner, but recognizes that Kent was by most people considered its inventor. Kent had been preceded by Bridgman, himself the successor of Switzer in popular favour. Bridgman (d. 1738) was the only prominent gardener of the period who was not also an author; his methods therefore can only be gleaned from others. It seems certain, however, that he banished vegetable sculpture, and that, when in charge of the Royal Gardens as successor to London and Wise, he laid out part of Richmond Park in forest scenery and cultivated fields. He was employed by Lord Cobham at Stowe, and his plans for remodelling the grounds in the modern style are still in existence. He also laid out as Kensington Gardens the three hundred acres that Queen Caroline took from Hyde Park.

Kent and Bridgman were the first designers who practised in the modern style, but Kent (1684-1748) far surpassed Bridgman in innovations. He did away with walls as boundaries, and invented the sunk fence, thus uniting the park with the garden. "He leaped the fence," says Horace Walpole in his *Essay on Modern Gardening*, "and saw that all Nature was a garden." Beginning life as a coach painter, he had the good fortune to obtain the Earl of Burlington as his patron,

—an association ridiculed by Hogarth in the print of *Burlington Gate, or the Taste of the Town* (1731),—and with him he lived and died. Kent seems to have practised all the arts and was sculptor and architect, political, historical and religious painter, and designer alike of furniture, dress and gardens. He sculptured Shakespeare's monument in Westminster Abbey, and designed an altar-piece in the church of St Clement Danes, which brought on him for a second time the merciless ridicule of Hogarth and created such a scandal that it had eventually to be removed by an injunction from the Bishop of London "to preserve peace and unity." Gay, however, admired his paintings beyond measure, seeing in them "Titian's strong fire and Guido's softer grace," and bidding "Raphael live again in (Kent's) design."[1] His principal works as an architect were the Horse Guards, the Treasury Buildings and Devonshire House. At Stowe, Lord Cobham's place in Buckinghamshire, which employed in turn every one of the modern school of landscape gardeners, Kent first painted the hall and then took over the garden, and it is as a gardener that he is chiefly remembered, though his reputation will vary according as he is associated with the reaction from the symmetry and precision of the formal garden to the landscape style, or with the wholesale destruction of old gardens which followed upon this return to nature. As one turns over book after book of the views of 'seats' in the illustrations of which aquatint engraving was so largely employed, one gets a very clear impression of the characteristic features of the house

[1] *Epistle to the Rt. Hon. Paul Methuen.*

and grounds of Kent's time, and of the style imposed by him on England for many years to come. The house below the level of the ground, so that its base is hardly seen, the clumps of trees that broke the spacing of lawn or park, the avoidance of the straight line in path or stream, all produced a monotony and formalism far in excess of the style supplanted by the disciples of 'nature.' The supreme absurdity in landscape gardening of the pictorial order was committed by the Hon. Charles Hamilton, owner of Pain's Hill, Cobham. Having obtained a fitting supply of ruins, temples and the like *à la* Poussin, he hired a hermit at £700 a year to live in a duly constructed hermitage. The experiment, owing to the hardships entailed on the hermit, did not prove a success.

"Is there anything more shocking than a stiff regular garden?" says Batty Langley in the *New Principles of Gardening*, in which he lays down in twenty-eight rules his dictates for the modern gardener. All the landscape designers of the last half of the eighteenth century held this view, and, according to their lights, they obliterated the work of former generations. Switzer had said: "Is not a level easy walk of gravel or sand, shaded over with trees and running through a cornfield or Pasture ground as pleasing as the largest walk in the most magnificent garden one can think of?" In Kent's time, as part of the general reaction from artificial French taste, the garden had ceased to be an enclosure and was being gradually merged into the park, which crept up to the house, thus banishing the flower-garden. The mannerisms of Kent were continued by Lancelot

Brown, 'Capability Brown' as he was nicknamed, from his always speaking of the 'capabilities' of the ground he had to report upon. He was kitchen gardener at Stowe till 1750, and then, being recommended by Lord Cobham to the Duke of Grafton, designed a lake at Wakefield Lodge which brought him into great notoriety; he was made Royal gardener at Hampton Court, and planted the celebrated vine there in 1759. Brown was the gardening idol of the day, says Loudon, and the places he altered are beyond all reckoning.

Gray admired his doings at Chatsworth, of which he writes to Wharton (Dec. 4, 1762):—"The front opens to the Derwent winding thro' the valley, which, by the art of Mr Brown is now always visible and full to its brim, for heretofore it could not well be seen (but in rainy seasons) from the windows. A handsome bridge is lately thrown over it, and the stables taken away, which stood full in view between the house and the river. The prospect opens here to a wider tract of country terminated by more distant hills: this scene is yet in its infancy, the objects are thinly scattered, and the clumps and plantations lately made, but it promises well in time." Socially also Brown won distinction. A famous anecdote relates that as he was one day assisting Lord Chatham into his carriage, the statesman thanked him with "And now, sir, go and adorn your country"; "Go you, my lord, and save it," was the gardener's reply. If Kent and Brown had only constructed new gardens, their monotonous belt plantations and equally monotonous clumps of trees and artificial waters might more easily be tolerated as

landmarks of a fluctuating taste. But when one thinks of the splendid and stately gardens ruthlessly swept away in order that they might be converted into parks, it is difficult to view with equanimity a style more formal even than the one it supplanted, and characterized by a bald ugliness never found in the more precise and symmetrical garden of earlier days. A glance through some of the old county histories, such as Plot's *Staffordshire* and *Oxfordshire*, Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, and Atkyn's *Gloucestershire*, will give sufficient proof of the destruction that took place at this time. Sir William Chambers, indeed, in the preface to his *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772), declared that if the mania for destroying avenues were not checked, in a few years longer there would not be found three trees in a line from the Land's End to the Tweed. Luckily it was not many years before this rapid change of the whole face of the country was put a stop to by a counter-revolution that saved for us some few of the stately houses of England.

As before, literature reflected the reaction, this time in the pages of the "Picturesque Writers," the name applied to the trio, Price, Knight, and Gilpin. Joseph Cradock in his *Village Memoirs* (1775) satirised the new fashion, the professional gardener appearing as the undertaker, Mr Layout; while Thomas Love Peacock (1785-1866), in *Headlong Hall* and *Crotchet Castle*, has left a more permanent record of these travesties of nature. Payne Knight, a violent opponent of Brown and his school both in prose and verse, has left the following testimony to the result of their misapplied activities:—

"Oft when I've seen some lonely mansion stand,
Fresh from th' improver's desolating hand,
'Midst shaven lawns, that far around it creep
In one eternal undulating sweep;
And scatter'd clumps, that nod at one another,
Each stiffly waving to its formal brother;
Tir'd with th' extensive scene, so dull and bare,
To Heav'n devoutly I've address'd my pray'r,—
Again the moss-green terraces to raise,
And spread the labyrinth's perplexing maze;
Replace in even lines the ductile yew,
And plant again the ancient avenue.
Some features then at least, we should obtain,
To mark this flat, insipid, waving plain;
Some vary'd tints and forms would intervene,
To break this uniform, eternal green."

Sir Uvedale Price is remembered by his championship of the older style and his opposition to Brown and the flood of unintelligent 'improvers' let loose on the formal gardens. He suggested that these should be modified, not destroyed, and thought that the pictures of Claude would be a safe guide from which to work. His *Essays on the Picturesque*, and on the use of studying pictures with a view to the *Improvement of Real Landscape*, together with *The Landscape*, a didactic poem by his coadjutor, Richard Payne Knight, naturally challenged much criticism. But both works were sound in their intention and beneficial in their result. Price, much misrepresented by his opponents, became the object of scathing satire, as having advocated 'the picturesque' as the only guide to be followed in regulating the useful as well as the ornamental,[1]

[1] The novel reader may remember the sentimental Marianne in *Sense and Sensibility*, and her laments over the vulgarisation of the picturesque. "Admiration of landscape scenery has become a mere jargon. Everybody pretends to feel and tries to describe with the taste and elegance of him who first defined what picturesque beauty was. I detest jargon of every kind;

an opinion which he shared with Horace Walpole, whose standard, however, is Albano. Other critics, with more justice, opposed his opinion that the study of pictures could prove infallible in the formation of the landscape garden. Dugald Stewart again, in his *Philosophical Disquisitions on the Beautiful* (1810), one of the earlier examples of the philosophy of æsthetic in English literature, remarks that the application of the knowledge acquired from a study of paintings to the improvement of natural landscape would infallibly cover the face of the country with a new and systematical species of affectation not less remote than that of Brown from the style of gardening he (Price) wishes to recommend.

Repton's position in the dispute altered as time went on, for while he certainly started as a discreet follower of Brown, his opinions were modified by Price's *Essays* and the ventilation of the subject in the writings of others who took part in this war of pens. The first answer to Price was a letter from Repton, to which he replied in an able pamphlet which was very widely read. William Windham, Repton's early patron, was perhaps the fairest of all Price's opponents, and his letter to Repton is an excellent statement of the position.

Repton was ever a courteous antagonist, and his attitude towards his critics seems to have earned him the nickname of 'Amenity' Repton. Yet he was not un-

and sometimes I have kept my feelings to myself, because I could find no language to describe them in but what was worn and hackneyed out of all sense and meaning." It would be interesting to know if this passage belongs to the original version of the book, written in 1792, to the re-working of 1797-8, or to the published recension of 1811.

compromising in the practice of his profession. In his *Inquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening*, he says: "I have occasionally ventured to deliver my opinion freely in theory, but in my practice I have often feared to give offence, by opposing the taste of others, since it is equally dangerous to doubt a man's taste as his understanding; especially as those who possess least of either are generally the most jealous of the little they possess."

In this same book, published in 1806, Repton subjects Brown's fashion in gardening to some criticism, though he distinguishes between the bad taste of his followers and the intention of their master. There are several passages, moreover, which show that he was anxious to minimise the difference between himself and Price and Knight, and that his own opinions were modified by his part in the controversy is conclusively proved by a comparison of his last work, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, published ten years afterwards, with his earlier writings. From a study of this alone one would certainly range him on the side of Brown's opponents, rather than on that of Brown. In this connection, Sir Walter Scott's remarks on these opposing schools in his *Essay on Landscape Gardening* in the *Quarterly Review* for 1828, are well worth reading. He sums up the characteristics of Kent and his school in the following manner:—"For waterworks and architectural ornaments, the professed productions of art, Kent produced ha-has! sheets of artificial water, formal clumps and belts and trees, and bare expanded flats or slopes of shaven grass, which,

indicating the recent use of the levelling spade and roller, have no more resemblance to that nature which we desire to see imitated, than the rouge of the antiquated coquette, bearing all the marks for sedulous toilette, bears to the artless blush of a cottage girl. His style is not simplicity, but affectation labouring to seem simple."

Repton took great pains that his employers should see what he proposed to do, and when called on to improve a place he prepared a plan and description of it as it was and then stated his plans for its alteration. He was a beautiful draughtsman, and used to make two sets of drawings, one to illustrate the existing effect and the other the suggested modifications. His ingenious invention of a system of slides over his illustrations was a stroke of genius. The slide consists of a movable slip of paper which covers the part of the view which the landscape gardener proposes to alter. The saving in drawing is considerable, as one complete picture with several 'slides' will serve the purpose of an equal number of finished drawings. They are naturally most effective on a large scale, and as carried out by the skilled engravers who worked from Repton's drawing in the large volumes of the first editions of his works, are seen to full advantage.

The following extract from *Mansfield Park*, chapter vi., shows what was thought of Repton by his contemporaries:—"'I must try to do something with it' [*i.e.* Sotherton Court], said Mr Rushworth, 'but I do not know what. I hope I shall have some good friend to help me.'

"'Your best friend upon such an occasion,' said Miss Bertram calmly, 'would be Mr Repton, I imagine.'

"'That is what I was thinking of. As he has done so well by Smith, I think I had better have him at once. His terms are five guineas a day.'

"'Well, and if they were *ten*,' cried Mrs Norris, 'I am sure *you* need not regard it.' . . .

"After a short interruption Mr Rushworth began again: 'Smith's place is the admiration of all the county; and it was a mere nothing before Repton took it in hand. . . . There have been two or three fine old trees cut down, that grew too near the house, and it opens the prospect amazingly, which makes me think that Repton, or anybody of that sort, would certainly have the avenue at Sotherton down.'"

Repton had one great professional disappointment connected with his *Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton*, published in 1808 and illustrated with plates aquatinted by Stadler and arranged with his usual method of slides. George IV., when Prince of Wales, commanded him to draw up plans for the alteration of the Royal Pavilion, at that time an important centre for social and aristocratic gatherings. Thomas Daniell had come back from India full of enthusiasm for Hindu architecture, and laden with a number of measured drawings of the buildings and their ornamental details. Repton was so impressed with them and the opportunity thus afforded of introducing a completely novel style, rather than a mere modification of familiar designs, that he adopted the Indian type of plan in his designs for the Pavilion. They met with the approval of the Prince, who told

Repton that he considered the whole of the work as perfect, and that he would have every part of it carried into immediate execution: "not a tittle shall be altered, —even you yourself shall not attempt any improvement." Want of funds, it is said, prevented the plans from being carried out, but when in 1820 there appeared Nash's *Illustrations of His Majesty's Palace at Brighton*, formerly the Pavilion, it was evident that Repton's ideas had been largely adopted. "He never himself alluded to this subject without feelings of deep regret, yet untinged with anger," says the biographical notice in Loudon's edition of his works, "but towards the close of his professional life, when his ambition was about to be justified by the patronage of the highest personages in the kingdom, it was painful to find himself superseded by that very friend, who, in earlier life, had participated in his bright visions of future fame. . . . Nature had in truth bestowed on Humphrey Repton one of her rarest gifts—a heart totally devoid of selfishness."

There were other writers of the kind who testify to the interest taken in rural life, such as R. Elsam, R. Lugar and J. B. Papworth (1775-1847), whom we meet in connection with Ackermann, but none of their books will bear comparison with those of Repton. Papworth's *Rural Residences* and *Hints on Ornamental Gardening* are companion volumes well printed with pleasing little plates and a practical and readable text, and they had great success abroad, especially in Russia, but their contributions to the subject are summed up in the pages of Repton.

CHAPTER VIII

WATER-COLOUR PAINTERS AS TEACHERS, AND THEIR DRAWING-BOOKS

A SMALL but very interesting class of books for the illustration of which aquatint was used is that of drawing-books. It has been shown in a former chapter how the art of painting in transparent colours on a white ground developed out of the method of tinting on a grey one, but "the transition from a drawing, completed on a shadow tint, over which the local colours were added in transparent washes, was slow, and grew out of the enrichment and repetition of these local colours, rather than by the abolition of the general grey preparation."[1] The artists who worked in the earliest or stained manner, that is to say, with one or two slight colours used very unobtrusively and only now and then in the picture, are:—Thomas Malton (1726-1801); Paul Sandby (1725-1809); S. H. Grimm (1734-1794); John Webber (1752-1793); John Cleveley (1745-1786); William Pars (1742-1782); and Michael Angelo Rooker (1743-1801). But by 1790 the practice of tinting had become bolder; colour came to be used over the whole surface of the drawing, and thus the later tinted manner succeeded naturally to

[1] *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Collection of Water-colour Paintings in the South Kensington Museum*, with an introductory notice by Samuel Redgrave, 1877.

the earlier stained drawing, developing in its turn into the true and perfect water-colour method of pure colour without the pen outline and general shadow tints. To the later period of the tinted manner belong the work of J. A. Gresse (1741-1794); J. R. Cozens (1752-1799); Edward Dayes (?-1804); Thomas Malton, Junior (1748-1809), and Robert Cleveley (?-1809), who, like his brother above mentioned, was a painter of marine pieces. Some of these names do not occur at all in book illustration, but the drawings of nearly all were reproduced in aquatint. Many of them were teachers also, and as they were pioneers of a new and popular art, the engraver naturally found a public ready for his rendering of their work. There is no doubt too that as soon as aquatint became recognized as the most perfect form of engraving for reproducing wash drawings, these were made in a way that would enable them to be thus translated with the least possible difficulty.

The true method of water-colour painting became established with Girtin and Turner. But Turner did not wholly reject the tinting process, especially in his early work, and it is only in the maturity of his art that it is not found at all. It was indeed disused so slowly that it was retained by some long after it had been wholly discarded by others, and such artists as Francis Nicholson, John Varley and David Cox still laid in their foregrounds with broad masses of neutral tint and added the local colour over it. Nearly all the early exponents of the art were teachers, members of a new profession, that of drawing-master, and numerous enough to form a body of considerable importance. A cultivation of the

fine arts was part of the education of every member of the upper classes. Ladies, in particular, took to drawing in water-colours, and it became an accomplishment as universal as music and Italian in the early part of the nineteenth century. As early as 1790 we find the Society of Arts offering, among "premiums for promoting the Applied Arts"[1]:—

"HONORARY PREMIUMS FOR DRAWINGS.

169. For the best Drawing by sons or grandsons of peers or peeresses of Great Britain and Ireland, to be produced on the first Tuesday in March, 1791; the gold medal.

170. For the second in merit; the silver medal.

171, 172. The same premiums will be given to daughters or g-daughters of peers or peeresses of Great Britain and Ireland.

N.B.—Persons professing any branch of the polite arts, or the sons and daughters of such persons, will not be admitted candidates in these classes."

The reason of the last clause is obvious when we remember that every professional artist added to his income by giving lessons, while some devoted their time almost exclusively to preparing the sketches of the amateur for the engraver to illustrate the works of travel and topography that were becoming increasingly numerous. It was only natural that the teachers most sought after in their day should inculcate their particular method of interpreting nature by means of treatises for the use

[1] Advt. in *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lx., part i., p. 458.

of their pupils, and should illustrate them by reproductions of their own drawings. About thirty of these drawing-books, with aquatint illustrations, fall within our period; and, if some of them were little more than recipes for turning out the popular article of the day, others were the serious outcome of the experience of such masters as Francis Nicholson, David Cox, Samuel Prout, T. H. A. Fielding and John Varley. The text, as well as the illustrations, of these treatises is well worth the consideration of all who care to trace the gradual evolution of water-colour painting. Ackermann had an intimate connection with this as with other branches of art; he published a large number of the early drawing-books, he lent drawings to copy as a circulating library lends books, and issued prints specially designed as copies for the use of students. *A Treatise on Ackermann's Superfine Water-Colours, with directions to prepare and use them, including succinct hints on drawing and painting* (1801), recommends the study of Turner, Girtin and Westall, and gives in its advertisement a list of prints available for the purpose.

Probably the earliest text-book of instruction to which the new process was applied was *The Young Painter's Maulstick*, a practical treatise on perspective by James Malton, published in 1800, addressed to students in drawing, in which aquatint was used for the tones of the various plates. But it was not till seven years later that the first of the coloured drawing-books appeared, *A Practical Essay on the Art of Colouring and Painting Landscapes in Water Colours*, accompanied with ten engravings, by John Heaviside Clark (1770-

1863), sometimes called 'Waterloo Clark,' from the sketches he made on the field just after the battle. It was published in 1807 by Edward Orme, Bond Street, 'where,' it is stated, 'are also sold Books of Instruction in every Branch of Drawing, Colours, Drawing Books and every requisite used in Drawing.' J. H. Clark's Introduction contains the following passage, as applicable to the students of to-day as it was to those for whom he wrote :—"In the subjects illustrating this essay, the chief consideration has been the simplest method of producing the particular effects : consequently they are slight, and to be imitated only as a lesson, or illustration of the respective instructions in regard to colouring. No particular *manner* is insisted on, the observations being common to all. Indeed it is absurd to attach the idea of correctness to any particular style : for manner, or style, is good or bad, in proportion to its approximation to nature ; and the very appellation of a mannerist always implies defect. Similar effects may be produced by a variety of methods : but doubtless that is most to be approved, which most resembles the grand original, nature itself. This is the ordeal, which every production of the pencil should pass. Hence we may justly establish it as a maxim, that to obtain the effect is the object to be desired, while the manner in which it is obtained is of no importance. Every artist indeed has a style peculiar to himself, which is nothing more than a mode of finishing insensibly fallen into, without design in the first instance, and improved as he advances in his art. But everyone who chooses to exercise his judgment, may examine nature with his own eyes ; and

though he may retain a deference for the taste of others, yet with perseverance the lover of the art will improve far more by observing nature, than by imitating the style of any drawing." Of the plates in illustration six are coloured, the tints being applied very simply and slightly in marked contrast to the later books, and especially to that other work of J. H. Clark, published in 1824, *A Practical Illustration of Gilpin's Day, representing the various effects on landscape scenery from morning till night.* In W. Gilpin's *Essays on Pictorial Beauty* there is a poem in which occur the lines from which Clark took the title for his book :

"Observe how she upheaves
The mountain's towering brow ; on its rough sides
How broad the shadow falls ; what different hues
Invest its glimmering surface.
The sky whate'er its hue, to landscape gives
A corresponding tinge. The morning ray
Spreads it with purple light, in dewdrops steeped ;
The evening fires it with a crimson glow.
With studious eye examine next the vast
Ethereal concave, mark each floating cloud ;
Its form, its colour ; and what a mass of shade
It gives the scene below, pregnant with change
Perpetual, from the morning's purple dawn,
Till the last glimmering ray of russet eve."

The thirty aquatints give the effects from "*Dawn of Day*" to "*Waning Moon,*" passing through the various kinds of sunrise, the effects of haze and cloud, storm, rainbow and lightning, to the striking changes produced by moonlight. The text to each plate describes the variations of nature, followed by the precise details for colouring each part of the scene in order to secure the

right effect. The plates are full of interest, for they show the different devices resorted to in the later period when aquatint plates were so executed that the impressions from them should have as close a resemblance as possible to water-colour sketches. Several of these plates show that the burnisher has been used in order to give the appearance of rising mist, fleecy cloud, and other strong effects of light; occasionally, where these effects are wanted on a smaller surface, as in the case of the moon shining on water, the colourist has used a knife to scrape away the paint, as can be seen in No. 29, "*Clear Moonlight.*" Another attempt to obtain the appearance of an original water-colour drawing is seen in the treatment of foliage, where the tints, instead of following carefully the tone gradations of the aquatint ground, are put on by hand in blots of colour without reference to the outline made by the different bitings. The ground used throughout is a somewhat coarse one; had it been finer the imitation would have been even more striking than it is. The book is both interesting and instructive, especially when compared with the earlier and simpler treatment of aquatint plates and the impressions taken from them.

Another J. Clark (1800?-1830), to be distinguished from J. H. Clark, engraved one of the early books for students, *Practical Perspective exemplified in Landscapes*, by Thomas Noble, Professor of Perspective, published by Orme in 1809. The second edition, in the same year, contains an "Essay on the Practice of Taking Views." In 1826 J. Clark produced a second work, which was

published by S. Leigh, *The Amateur's Assistant, or a Series of Instructions in Sketching from Nature, the Application of Perspective, Tinting of Sketches, Drawing in Water Colours and Transparent Painting for use in the Portable Diorama.* This was a contrivance invented by Daguerre and Boulton for producing by optical illusion the effects of nature when looking at architectural or landscape drawings. The comprehensive title of the book is hardly justified by the results. It is of little importance except to the inquirer into aquatint technique, for whom it provides a water-colour sketch printed in blue and bitten in three successive stages, a fourth stage showing the addition of slight hand-tinting.

In 1808 appeared Joshua Bryant's *Treatise on the Use of Indian Inks and Colours.* The object of the book was to introduce a scheme for what he called "Stenographia Graphica, or a new method of writing down colours," whereby the primitive colours and their auxiliaries could be expressed, both singly and in combination, by means of a few letters of the alphabet. He incidentally alludes to the discovery of a "new bistre by Mr Ackermann of the Strand, possessing qualities wanting in the common bistre." Nine of the plates are from his own work, but as he did not wish "that his drawings alone should be held up for imitation," there are two plates from Barret, one from Manskirsh, two from Cocking, and one from G. Holmes. Plate No. 14, by J. Bluck after W. H. Pyne, is a very clear example of two printed colours, the foreground being in a rich brown tint, the water and distant hills in blue; several of the coloured plates are printed in more than

one tint, but this is the only example without the addition of hand-colouring. The plates were intended as copies for beginners, and it is perhaps due to this fact, coupled with the other purpose of the book—*i.e.* the analysis of colour—that the illustrations are particularly good examples of pure and delicate colour work, the "*Cottage in Hyde Park*," by Harraden after Bryant, and a "*View at Hastings*," by J. Bluck after Cocking, being especially attractive. In the two-tint plate after Pyne, the publication line is in brown like the foreground; in that of Monmouth Church, an effective moonlight scene after Manskirsh, it is in blue, that being the printing tint of the plate. In several of the engravers' signatures we find the word *aquat.* instead of *sculpt.*

Ackermann's New Drawing Book of Light and Shadow in Imitation of Indian Ink (1809) is not of special interest; the plates are in monochrome, and the grain of the aquatint ground is coarse, but the subjects are pleasing, if somewhat hackneyed. In a brief introduction, concerning "the elegant and pleasing study of Drawing in Water Colours," we read:—"It is with feelings of national exultation that we can ascribe, in a great degree, this improvement in so elegant a department of the fine arts, to our lovely countrywomen. It is to the cultivation of the study of the drawing in water-colours by the enlightened ladies of our time that the best artists have owed their encouragement; and the patronage of the fair sex has thus produced an epoch in art which will be a lasting honour to the country." In the same year appeared *Ackermann's New Drawing*

Book, comprising Groups of Figures, Cattle and other Animals for the Embellishment of Landscape, designed and engraved by J. F. Manskirsh. The plates, representing spirited country scenes, many of them in the style of Morland, are executed in soft ground etching and aquatint. Franz Joseph Manskirsh was a German landscape painter and engraver, who about 1796 came to live for a time in England; his name seems to be written indifferently Mankirch, Manskirsh or Manskirsch, and his initials J. F. or F. J.

In W. H. Pyne's *Rudiments of Landscape Drawing, in a Series of Early Examples* (1812) there are two interesting uncoloured plates, showing the same scenes with different effects of light; the coloured plates are roughly tinted, though there is one of a windmill scene, entitled *Evening*, which has all the charm of a drawing by De Wint.

F. Calvert's *Lessons on Landscape* (1815), a somewhat pretentious book, is poor from every point of view, the drawing without interest and the colouring crude and heavy. As one of the many attempts to take away "the perplexing difficulties" that blocked the path of the youthful aspirant to water-colour fame, the nature of its instruction is to be gathered from the following extract:—"The rules of art are as simple as the lessons of Nature," says this unblushing instructor, "and those who adopt the former as they are here delineated will find it no uneasy task to produce faithful representations of the latter."

An interesting comment on the fashion of amateur artists, previously spoken of, and the attitude of the

drawing-master towards them, is to be found in the firm stand made by Nicholson in bringing to the notice of the Society of Arts the practice of masters working on the drawings of their pupils when these were candidates for premiums offered by the Society. How necessary such an attitude was may be illustrated by a quotation or two:—"You know her father was our drawing-master, Mamma, at Chiswick, and used to do all the best parts of our drawing."

"My love! I'm sure I always heard Miss Pinkerton say that he did not touch them—he only mounted them."

"It was called mounting, Mamma."[1]

Again, the following testimonial was given to J. T. Smith by Sir James Winter Lake, on his applying for the post of drawing-master to Christ's Hospital:—"We have known Mr Smith for upwards of fourteen years, and we have found him an able drawing-master to our daughter, whose drawings he has never touched upon—a practice too often followed by drawing-masters in general; and we believe him to be a truly valuable member of society, as a husband, father, and good man.

"James Winter Lake.

"Jessy Lake."[2]

The fashion of drawing in water-colours was largely facilitated by the improvement in artists' materials that took place about this time. About 1780 Messrs Reeves, as already mentioned, began their experiments with the water-colour cakes that have ever since been associated

[1] *Vanity Fair*, chap. iv.

[2] J. T. Smith, *Book for a Rainy Day*, ed. W. Whitten, 1905, p. 167.

with their name, and in the following year the Society of Arts awarded them their silver palette for the improvements they had brought about. Henceforth the artist had no longer to grind and prepare his own dry colours, and the amateur had his tools ready to hand.

Edward Dayes was another teacher of water-colour who was also a writer on the methods he taught. He left some MS notes, entitled *Professional Sketches of Modern Artists*, of a somewhat spiteful character, especially as regards Girtin, towards whom his attitude is peculiarly unjustifiable.

No one interested in this epidemic of instruction in water-colour painting should omit to read the series of papers by W. H. Pyne, already mentioned; and if, writing a quarter of a century later in the *Somerset House Gazette*, Pyne was somewhat severe on what he considered the degradation of the new art, he spoke from the experience of a long life spent in constant association with the artists of his day. He was, moreover, a practitioner himself in the art that he criticised, and had two sons who followed his career, one of whom married a daughter of John Varley.

It was Alexander Cozens (d. 1786) who first began the practice of teaching the new art of landscape drawing to the young ladies of his day. One of two sons born to Peter the Great by an Englishwoman, he came to England in 1746, married an English wife, and some five and twenty years later was practising in Bath, then a centre of fashion. Sheridan went there in 1771, and in the same year appeared Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker*, which was probably influenced by Anstey's *New Bath*

Guide, published in 1766, the year in which the new Assembly Rooms were opened. The following passage from Sheridan's *Life* graphically describes the atmosphere of the place in these days:—"From all quarters of the globe congregated not only the invalid to gain health from the thermal springs, but the dissipated, and also the lovers of the arts. Bilious East Indians, Irish fortune-hunters, gouty statesmen, ladies of rank chiefly remarkable for the delicacy of their reputation, went there to seek relief from ennui. To furnish relief for them there was an admirable theatre, time out of mind the nursery for the London stage, and concerts, such as were not to be outrivalled in Europe, and private parties of every description, where music, dancing, or poetry was the ruling passion."[1]

The following skit, indicative of the prevailing art epidemic, appeared about 1787, and is quoted by W. Thornbury in his *Life of Turner*:—"What a fine, clear morning! I will do my sky. Betty! tell your mistress, if any one calls, I cannot be seen—I'm skying. Betty! Betty! bring me up a pan of water, and wash that sponge: it really is so hot, I cannot lay my colour smooth. Where's the flat brush? Oh dear! that Prussian blue is all curdled." "Please, pa, ma says, will you take any refreshment?" "Get away! get away! however can your ma think about refreshment when she knows I'm doing my sky? There, you've knocked down my swan's quill, and how am I to soften this colour? It will all be dry before you wash out the dirt. Give me that brush. Oh, it is full of indigo!

[1] *Life of Sheridan*, prefixed to Bohn's edition of his Dramatic Works.

There is the horizon spoilt! Quick! quick! some water! Oh, that's gall! And the sky is flying away! Why did your mother send you here? She might have known that I was skying."

Gainsborough, in whom music was a ruling passion—and Bath, as we have seen, was very musical—though never a teacher of art, had lived at Bath for fourteen years before Cozens went there. His landscape style became a craze, and the fashionable idlers of the place took his picturesque sketches as their models, and tried to imitate his effects. Into this heritage of enthusiasm and atmosphere of dilettantism came Cozens, who, says Roget, "though styled the 'father' of our Water Colour School, as, indeed, were many others, would be more accurately described as the father of its schoolmasters. He seems to have been the first who professed to conduct amateurs along a royal road to the production of pretty pictures, without imposing upon them the hard study and careful observation of nature necessary to a thorough practitioner in art." Cozens was the possessor of a 'style,' or, as some would have it, a mechanical trick for producing effects. He described his process in a pamphlet entitled *A New Method of Drawing Original Landscapes*, and we may gather that the results were calculated to produce the same sort of result upon the spectator that the most extreme form of impressionism does at the present day. W. H. Pyne, in the series of papers on *The Rise and Progress of Water-Colour Painting in England* that he contributed to the *Somerset House Gazette*, roundly denounces him for a charlatan and for having degraded the practice of water-colour painting; but

possibly Cozens' own application of his process was justified by success, and the mistake lay in fostering in his pupils a method which they adopted parrot fashion, without using their own eyes in the study of nature. Anyway the forty years he spent in England were crowned with success: he was drawing-master at Eton, gave lessons to the Prince of Wales and many of the nobility, and was much sought after by the artists and connoisseurs of his day.

Alexander Cozens' more famous son John does not seem to have taught, and after Paul Sandby, who, as has been noted, was always much in request as a teacher, John Alexander Gresse and John Laporte next come under notice as teachers of water-colour painting. The former, of Genevese parentage, had an appointment at Court as drawing-master to the princesses, daughters of George III. The latter, besides being one of the masters at Addiscombe Military College, reckoned among his pupils Dr Monro, the future patron of young artists. But, after Cozens, the man who again developed a style which became once more a fashionable craze among amateurs was William Payne. The date of his birth is not known, but in 1790 he left Devonshire, his native county, and came to London, exhibiting at Somerset House. His rapid success as a teacher, however, left him little time for original work; he ceased to become an exhibitor and gave himself up to forming pupils on the lines of his particular method of technique. The Redgraves in their *Century of Painters* describe the characteristics of his procedure in the following manner:—"Payne adopted many peculiarities in his

method of execution, some of which are valuable additions to the art. He abandoned the use of outline with the pen. His general process was very simple. Having invented a grey tint (still known by the colourmen as Payne's grey), he used it for all the varied gradations of his middle distance, treating the extreme distance, as also the clouds and sky, with blue. For the shadow, in his foreground, he used Indian ink or lamp-black, breaking these colours into the distance by the admixture of grey. In this he but slightly differed from the other artists of his time, but his methods of handling were more peculiarly his own. These consisted in splitting the brush to give the forms of foliage, dragging the tints to give texture to his foregrounds, and taking out the forms of lights by wetting the surface and rubbing with bread or rag. He seems to have been among the first who used this practice, which, in the hands of Turner, became such a powerful aid to effect and enabled the early painters in water-colour to refrain from using white or solid pigments in the lights.

Having thus prepared a vigorous light and shadow, Payne tinted his distance, middle distance, and foreground with colour, retouching and deepening the shadows in front to give power to his work, and even loading his colour and using gum plentifully. He sought to enrich scenes wherein he had attempted effects of sunset or sunrise by passing a full wash of gamboge and lake over the completed drawing. He abandoned mere topography for a more poetical treatment of landscape scenery, and although he has none of the delicacy of (John) Cozens, and rarely touches our

sympathies, he set an example of what might be done, even in the simpler practice of "tinting" by accidental effects, by selection of forms, by sun-rays piercing through clouds which, like Cozens, he obtained by washing out, by mists and vapours introducing such treatments into the practice of the art."[1]

Francis Nicholson (1753-1844), one of the founders of the Old Water-Colour Society, came of a humble Yorkshire family, and, like many another born artist, struggled through all his early youth against the parental desire to keep him to the family trade. Brought up in Pickering, where his father was a tailor, he developed a great distaste for the agricultural life around him, and records in his autobiographical notes how, when he finally came to London for instruction, and the finest landscapes of Wilson, Barret, and others were pointed out to him, he only said: "I hate to look at them, they are so like the country." Want of funds, however, obliged him to return home after a few months, and he then entered on the usual occupation of the young artist of the period, making views of gentlemen's houses and grounds. At the age of thirty he went to Whitby, and there developed what must have been really an innate love of the country, a love checked in youth by the inevitable circumscription of life involved in it. Henceforward, he settled down as a landscape draughtsman, finding a ready market for his very numerous works, and, later on, attaining to the distinction of having his drawings fraudulently copied, for so great was

[1] *A Century of Painters of the English School*, R. & S. Redgrave. Vol. i. p. 382.

the demand for his work, that these imitations were readily bought by dealers. He was a man of much ingenuity, and multiplied his drawings by etching the outlines on a soft ground, taking impressions in black lead, and completing the copies by hand. In this way he "manufactured," as he said, "an incredible number of drawings." He reversed the practice of the time, which was to lay the lightest tints of a drawing first, and invented a method whereby the darker colours were first put on, and the high lights stopped out by a composition insoluble in water, but easily removed by the application of turpentine. This is described in the *Transactions of the Society of Arts* for 1799, and also in his *Practice of Drawing*.

After going to Bute with Lord Bute to make a set of views of the island, he finally settled in London, and, like nearly all of his profession, gave lessons to amateurs. It was in this capacity that he produced in 1820 *The Practice of Drawing and Painting Landscape from Nature in Water Colours*, published by J. Booth and T. Clay, and dedicated to the Hon. Mrs Fortescue. It went rapidly through many editions, of which the second, published by John Murray in 1823, should be compared with the original, as in it the folding-plate of the first edition, containing a coloured aquatint by T. Fielding after Nicholson, and four sketches showing the mode of laying successive washes in water-colour, is reproduced by lithography, coloured by hand like the aquatint. A glance at the two will suffice to show that lithography is quite unsuited to the addition of colour. The substratum of black is everywhere apparent, giving a coarse and

dirty look which is most unpleasing, and taking away the possibility of any transparency of effect. The French early realized this, and part of the success attained by Lami and Monnier, who worked in England about 1830, and whose coloured lithographs are often most pleasing, is due to the fact that they used the process mainly for outline and shadows, so that there is no black underlying the other parts, which are left clear for the colours. Nicholson himself is said to have made over 800 drawings on stone, and thereby to have given a great stimulus to lithography.

The *Practice of Drawing* is a somewhat elaborate treatise, but full of interest, as showing how far in 1820 water-colour landscape art had become emancipated from the earlier traditions of the stained drawing. Of the four processes that he describes, three have the subject first laid on in grey, and only the fourth suggests beginning with local colour. His own comments on the latter method, moreover, show that he was not himself wholly converted, though he gives the following excellent definition of local colour:—"By original or local colour is meant the colour of the object, when seen by a full clear light, and at a small distance. This is altered by several causes, such as the distance of the object, the reflected colour communicated to it by near objects of a different colour, or its being seen through a coloured medium, as that of a hazy atmosphere."

John Varley (1778-1842), another of the foundation members of the Old Water-Colour Society and an intimate friend of Nicholson, had also to overcome many difficulties in the pursuit of his art and was

one of the many students who owed much in early life to the patronage of Dr Monro (1759-1833). The doctor, who had a house in Adelphi Terrace, was a distinguished connoisseur as well as physician, and possessed an extensive collection of pictures and engravings. His name is associated with the history of water-colour painting in its evolution from the tinted drawing to its final perfected form, for he exerted himself, both as teacher and patron, to help the young artists of the day who were struggling to pourtray landscape in transparent colour. He himself had been a pupil of John Laporte and J. A. Gresse, and was an ardent sketcher, constantly making outline drawings which were filled up and coloured under his supervision by the young draughtsmen who came to his house of winter evenings. They drew at desks placed in opposite lines by the light of one candle to every two students, and were given 2s. or 2s. 6d. an evening and their supper. Monro had many drawings, especially by Gainsborough and Cozens, which he allowed them to copy, and was also in the habit of inviting them to sketch from nature at his country-house. Girtin and Turner were constant in their attendance, and Joshua Cristall, John Varley, Peter De Wint, W. H. Hunt, and John Linnell all took advantage of his generous patronage. Varley went with him about 1800 to his first country-house at Fetcham, in Surrey, to make coloured drawings of the neighbourhood of Boxhill, and later took a studio near Adelphi Terrace, so that the doctor might continue to supervise his work. Like all his fellow-artists, Varley soon began to teach; in the course of his career

he had many distinguished painters as his pupils, and to the end of his life no teacher was more sought after. David Cox, De Wint, Copley Fielding, John Linnell, W. Hunt, and Samuel Palmer all profited by his help, often gratuitously given—though his ordinary terms were a guinea an hour—and always with an enthusiasm and openness that made him the most popular of masters. That he had the art of exposition is obvious from his published writings. "If ever an artist," says Roget, "painted with brains as well as colour, it was John Varley."[1] "As a preceptor," says Pyne, "we know of no one to prefer to Mr Varley when he sets to it doggedly, for no artist perhaps has ever studied his department with more abstract reasoning upon cause and effect." The book referred to in Chapter III. in connection with Pyne's remarks on the suitability of aquatint as a medium for reproducing water-colour painting is *A Treatise on the Principles of Landscape Design, with General Observation and Instructions to Young artists, illustrated with sixteen highly finished Views.* These views are engraved in aquatint, printed in brown ink, two on a plate, and the eight plates with explanatory text were issued as serial numbers at 5s. apiece.

He was particularly happy in the unconventional sayings with which he sought to impress upon his pupils the principles that he considered of chief importance, and this gift of vivid illustration, with its striking perception of forcible analogies, appears also, though in

[1] *History of the Old Water-Colour Society*, J. L. Roget, 1891, vol. i. pp. 3 and 4; *Somerset House Gazette*, I. i. 3.

less degree, in the text of his treatises. His other and less important work is *Precepts of Landscape Drawing, exemplified in* 15 *Views; with Instructions to Young Artists.* It consists only of two folio plates, folded in quarto, one engraved by F. C. Lewis, the other by Joshua Gleadah, the one having nine and the other six small aquatint views, with a note to each explaining its particular feature. In both books the views are nearly always of Welsh subjects, for Varley was one of the many artists of that time who found their inspiration chiefly in that country. Of his belief in astrology and his often verified predictions this is no place to speak; it is enough to recall that it was for him that Blake drew the Ghost of a Flea and his strange Visionary Heads, and that the portrait of Varley now hanging in the National Portrait Gallery is a sketch from the same inspired hand.

Next in order come the two drawing-books of Samuel Prout (1785-1852). He began life as draughtsman to John Britton, the antiquary and topographer, whose *Beauties of England and Wales*, undertaken in co-operation with Edward Brayley, forms a landmark in county history; but it was not until after a visit to France in 1818 or 1819 that his real vocation became apparent. It was only during the brief interval of peace produced by the Treaty of Amiens, and again at the close of the Napoleonic wars, that artists were able to travel on the Continent. Henry Edridge was the first to break new ground in this way, but Prout followed almost immediately, and the architectural drawings that he brought back from Normandy at

once gave him his position. His masterly treatment of light and shade, and the broken line which was so effective in giving the feeling of time-worn stone, appealed to an age that was specially interested in the picturesqueness of decay. His representations of foreign streets are, in their way, unsurpassed, and for the remainder of his life he was the acknowledged draughtsman of continental cities. He also became a very popular teacher, and circulated many designs for students. Many of these were reproduced in soft ground etching, a process seen at its best in the period between aquatint and lithography. Besides twenty-three plates contributed to Britton's work from 1803 to 1813, he wrote several books for Ackermann's educational series, two of which, being partly illustrated in aquatint, concern us here.

The *Rudiments of Landscape in Progressive Studies drawn and etched in Imitation of Chalk* (1813) is in three parts, each containing twenty-four large plates, together with instructions in the text. Part I. contains studies of rustic and other architecture in soft ground etching, in Part II. the shadows are put in aquatint, after the manner of a sepia drawing, while Part III. contains sixteen fine coloured aquatints. The style of these is bold and the grain of the ground somewhat coarse, so that, while effective at a distance, they do not resemble water-colours so nearly as do the plates in his later book. The predominance of the wash of neutral tint is apparent in most of them. They are very various in subject, but Plates 53 and 56 are especially fine, reminding one in subject and treatment of the work of David Cox.

Prout supplemented this book in 1820 with *A Series of Easy Lessons in Landscape Drawing, contained in* 40 *Plates, arranged progressively from the first principles in the chalk manner to the finished landscape colours*, a more attractive work on a smaller scale. There are but two pages of text, from which the following statement shows the scope of the book, and the simplicity of the methods he adopted to achieve success. "Some of the subjects are first tinted with grey, that is, neutral tint, producing the general effect of a drawing, except that blue is in the sky and the darkest touches. The whole is then washed over with a warm tint of red and yellow; after which a little local colour only is necessary on the different parts. It is then to be finished with a few dark touches, to mark more decidedly the features of the picture. But few colours are necessary, it being the balance of warm and cold colours which produces brilliancy; some of the cold tints being carried into the warm masses, and the warm tints balanced with cold."

In 1805 there had appeared *The Cabinet of Arts, being a New and Universal Drawing Book*, published by T. Ostell, which was subsequently taken over by Ackermann and re-issued in a much enlarged form. Its second appearance between 1819 and 1821 was in thirty-two monthly numbers, each published at 3s., and containing four engravings, three plain and one coloured, and twelve pages of letterpress. The aquatints after Prout and others are unattractive, the interest of the book lying chiefly in the two last numbers, which were added to the original scheme in order to relate Ackermann's experiments with lithography.

Although they are outside the period under review, we may here mention two treatises by G. F. Phillips (1780-1867). The *Principles of Effect and Colour as applicable to Landscape Painting*, published by F. C. Harding in 1833, is illustrated by eight aquatint plates, of which six are coloured and two plain. Those that are uncoloured are strong and pictorial, and several of the coloured ones, some of which have more than one printed tint, are highly attractive, besides being successful expositions of the effects produced by the relation of light, dark and middle tints to each other, in illustrating the operations of nature; the text is brief but much to the point, and the use of middle tint in uniting masses of light and shade is well set forth. Another little book of the same artist is a *Practical Treatise on Drawing and on Painting in Water Colours*, with eighteen plates, of which twelve are aquatints, plain and coloured, besides a sheet of tints used in the coloured examples. Phillips certainly had the power of simple and forcible teaching; his remarks on colour, as well as light and shade, are of great importance, and his warnings to students not to adopt the conventional palette of the master whom they happen to prefer, but to avoid the mannerisms of the teacher by a constant appeal to the freshness of nature, are as deserving of attention now as then.

The water-colours that live in the memory, and that one can recall at will, some by Turner, many by David Cox, and by De Wint, are usually those that conjure up not so much scenes as such feelings as are produced in us by a day in the country, the sense of being washed

through and through with air. They are not those that suggest the realism of rock, or field, or hedgerow, but rather such as remind us of weather—storm and sunshine, cloud shadows, the sparkle of sun on moving water, of the sentiment as well as of the reality, of nature in all her moods. The earlier water-colour artist had a directness of vision which seems to have been at least partially lost in later days; his drawings were not versions of nature made through some preconceived theory of how it should affect him, but recorded personal impressions which were transferred directly to the paper without artifice and often with unerring execution. Hence a certain breadth of style and singleness of purpose which more than atone for limitation in other directions, much of which he was able to transmit by precept as well as by example.

Another drawing-master, J. Merigot (*fl.* 1772-1816), has been referred to in Chapter VI. as a former teacher recollected and sought out by the elder Pugin to help him while working under Nash. Nagler states that Merigot was a Parisian landscape painter working about 1772 (at which period presumably he acted as drawing-master in the Pugin family), afterwards travelling in Italy and Switzerland, and finally settling in England, where he executed two drawings, afterwards engraved in colours by Guyot, one of *Claremont* in Surrey, the other of the *Garden of the Dog and Duck.* He also drew and engraved twenty-five plates for the *Promenade ou Itinéraire des Jardins d'Ermenonville* (Paris, 1788), and twenty plates for the *Promenade des Jardins de Chantilly* (Paris, 1791), all being in a mixed process

of etching and aquatint.[1] Nothing further is known of Merigot save that in 1816 he published *The Amateur's Portfolio, or the New Drawing Magazine: being a Selection of Lessons calculated to make the Art of Drawing Easy*, two quarto volumes containing in addition to other plates, numerous coloured aquatints of topographical studies, drawings of animals and floral subjects, these last, eleven in number, being of great delicacy and beauty. On the title-page he describes himself as 'drawing-master, London,' so that his professional activity extended over more than forty years, a fact which makes our scanty knowledge of him the more singular. Probably, as in the case of his patrons, the Pugins, the French Revolution had much to do with his residence in England; it is certainly a matter for congratulation that such studies from nature should have been published in London in 1816.

William Gilpin is dealt with at some length in a subsequent chapter, but one of his essays, on *The Art of Sketching Landscape*, should be included among the books of instruction for amateurs. There is a passage in the 2nd edition which explains the peculiar character of the plates that illustrate his numerous books, all of which are permeated with a sickly hue of yellow. "It adds, I think, to the beauty of a sketch to stain the paper slightly with a reddish, or yellowish tinge; the use of which is to give a more pleasing tint to the ground of the drawing by taking off the glare of the paper. It

[1] On the title-page of these books is :—"À Paris, chez Merigot père, Libraire Boulevard St Martin, Galley, Libraire au Palais Royal No. 13 et 14, Guyot, Graveur et Marchand d'Estampes, Rue St Jacques No. 2 et à Ermenonville, chez Murray."

adds also, if it be not too strong, a degree of harmony to the rawness of black, and white. The strength, or faintness of this tinge depends on the strength, or faintness of the drawing. A slight sketch, should be slightly tinged. But if the drawing be slightly finished, and the shadows strong; the tinge also may be stronger. Where the shadows are very dark, and the lights catching, a deep tinge may sometimes make it a good sun-set."

The books that David Cox (1783-1859) contributed to the section of drawing-books are naturally of great interest. Palser, a printseller in the Westminster Bridge Road with an eye for budding talent, employed Cox as well as Prout to make studies for provincial drawing-masters to use as copies for their pupils. These were paid for at a few shillings apiece, but they attracted the notice of the Hon. H. Windsor, afterwards Earl of Plymouth, who took lessons from Cox and subsequently started him on his long career of teaching. *A Treatise on Landscape Painting and Effect in Water Colours, from the first rudiments to the finished picture, with examples in outline, effect and colouring* is the title of his first drawing-book, published in 1804, by S. & F. Fuller, and issued, as he says, through "the urgent and repeated solicitations of many of his pupils." Cox was only thirty years of age, but the preliminary matter, brief as it is, shows that he had already systematized his own ideas while working out model sketches for beginners. "The best and surest method of obtaining instruction from the work of others," he writes, "is not so much by copying them, as by drawing the same subjects from nature immediately after a critical examination of them

while they are fresh in the memory. Thus they are seen through the same medium, and imitated upon the same principles, without preventing the introduction of sufficient alterations to give originality of manner, or incurring the risk of being degraded into a mere imitation." The book has twenty-four soft ground etchings, sixteen uncoloured aquatints, and sixteen coloured, some of the latter being so fine in ground and so carefully coloured that they could well be mistaken for original drawings, especially those called "*Morning*" and "*Afternoon.*" The scenes chosen are of great variety and typical of the subjects associated with Cox. Mr Frank Short possesses two of the plates, coloured by the artist as a guide to the hand colourist. The book went through many editions, the last being issued in 1841, with only the sixteen coloured plates. Comparison will show that the colouring of the plates in this last edition is very different from that of the earlier issues. On the whole the changes are not for the better, nor are some of the impressions improved by being varnished in the shadows.

The *Treatise* was followed in 1816 by a smaller and more elementary book, published by T. Clay, *A Series of Progressive Lessons in Water Colours*, which likewise went through many editions, the last appearing in 1845. In the text the author gives examples of tints to elucidate his directions, a plan also adopted by Hassell, probably in imitation of Bryant. The 1845 edition is much larger in size, with an entirely different set of plates, more highly finished but less attractive than those in the earlier editions.

THE WINDMILL.

From *The Young Artist's Companion* (1825) by David Cox.

A third book by Cox is *The Young Artist's Companion*, published in 1825 by S. & F. Fuller. In this the text is the same as that of the *Treatise on Landscape Painting*, the first 40 plates being in soft ground etching. Then follow 24 aquatints, 12 uncoloured and 12 coloured, the latter perhaps the most elaborately finished of all the plates in Cox's books ; they are painted in strong effective colours, with now and then a touch of varnish in the shadows which adds to the illusion of a water-colour drawing.

John Hassell was a landscape draughtsman and engraver in aquatint ; the date of his birth is unknown, but he was exhibiting at the Royal Academy in 1789 and died in 1825. He wrote three drawing-books, the first, *Speculum, or Art of Drawing in Water-Colours with Instructions for sketching from nature, comprising the whole process of a coloured drawing, familiarly exemplified in drawing, shadowing and tinting a complete landscape in all its progressive stages, with directions for compounding and using colours, sepia, indian ink, bistre, etc.*, was published in 1808. On the front page is the advertisement which shows us that he was also a drawing-master : " Drawing taught and Schools attended by the author. Letters addressed to J. Hassell, No 5, Newgate St., will be duly attended to." The book is insignificant enough, but it reached three editions and was followed in 1811 by *Calcographia, or the Art of multiplying drawings after the manner of chalk, black lead pencil, and pen and ink*, illustrated by soft ground etchings. This in its turn was succeeded by his really fine *Aqua pictura*, issued in parts in 1813. The full title is

Aqua pictura, illustrated by a series of original specimens from the works of Payne, Mann, Francia, Samuel, Varley, Wheatley, Young, Christal, Cartwright, Girtin, Clennell, Cox, Prout, Hills, De Wint, Owen, Glover, Turner, Loutherbourg, etc., etc., exhibiting the works of the most approved modern water colour draughtsmen, with their style and method of touch, engraved and finished in progressive examples. In the Preface the author states that "The Proprietors of the present work propose to give, in progressive Series, a drawing of one of the most celebrated water-colour draughtsmen of the present age and to publish that specimen in four stages on the first day of every month. This mode, it is presumed, will be found highly useful to those who profess to teach drawing, from the easy method in which progressive lessons can be communicated, and, to facilitate the copying of the drawings, the Conductor of this publication will explain the colours presumed to be used by the draughtsmen, with a practical specimen of every tint that appears in each drawing." There are four plates, showing the different stages of each drawing, from the outline sketch to the finished painting, the last being a highly coloured aquatint engraving. His third book on the subject was *The Camera, or Art of Drawing in Water Colours* (1823).

Last on the list within our period comes T. H. A. Fielding's *Index of Colours and Mixed Tints, for the use of beginners in Figure and Landscape Painting*, described in the preface as "a copious set of tints arranged in the manner of an index, to which the student can refer for the mixture of a tint as he would to his Dictionary for

words with which he is yet unacquainted." Further on, Fielding alludes to "the extraordinary care and labour required in getting the tints exactly coloured and in a manner which might ensure their permanency." The book has no artistic merit, consisting mostly of twenty-four squares of colour arranged in groups of eight, on each of seventeen plates, with the names of the colours that go to the composition of the different mixed tints underneath each group; a preliminary key-plate has twenty-eight squares of plain colours. There are thus four hundred and thirty-six separate applications of colour by hand to each copy of the book, so that even in a small edition the labour involved must have been enormous. In this case, as in that of many works of the period, it would indeed be interesting to know the size of the editions on which so much careful labour was expended.

Among these drawing-books a volume on Flower Painting is of importance as being one of the very few books in which aquatint was used for the illustration of botanical subjects. It is entitled *Rudiments of Drawing, Shadowing and Colouring Flowers in Water Colours, contained in* 36 *Instructive Lessons illustrated by* 29 *Plates, from the outline of a single leaf progressively to the completion of a full group*, and was published "by the proprietor," G. Testolini, 73 Cornhill, in 1818. In addition to the flower plates there is a frontispiece in stipple and a plate of tints in small squares, after the plan adopted by Hassell and others. Both the drawing and the colouring of the flowers are beautiful: some of the tints are put on by hand, but in several plates there is more than one printing. Any-

one interested in the application of different techniques to illustrations of the same subject should compare this book with *Practical Directions for learning Flower Drawing*, by Patrick Syme, Flower Painter, Edinburgh, published in 1810, which has eighteen plates, including six in outline, six finished drawings in colour, and six representing the flowers in different stages of colouring. All these plates are in stipple, nor would it be possible to find a more perfect application of this particular mode of engraving. The two plates of the harebell are a marvel of delicacy, and only a strong glass reveals the fact that the outline of this slender flower is rendered in tiny dots and not in continuous line.

CHAPTER IX

FOREIGN TRAVEL

Of the total number of books in the list nearly 300 are concerned with travel and topography, while about 30 relate to military and naval adventure. Only a few of these can be spoken of in detail, but it may be interesting to say something of the circumstances that called forth the more important. Around the Waterloo Campaign a great deal of the most lively and vigorous illustration naturally centres, St Helena coming in as a frequent theme both for pen and pencil.

The love of travel had recently acquired fresh characteristics from its association with the new interest in the picturesque, whether in scenery, dress, or customs, as well as with geographical and scientific exploration. It is safe to say that but few people went anywhere without either making sketches themselves or taking with them some artist to depict what they saw. If their own achievements were not up to the necessary standard they were handed over to one of the professional artists, who made a practice of redrawing the work of amateurs for the engraver. Thus nearly all books of travel were illustrated, and it will be obvious from a glance at this section that, not only every part of Great Britain, but of the Continent and the Far East as well, yielded material

alike to the author and artist. After the fashion set by Ackermann many of these books were brought out regardless of expense. Publisher, artist, and engraver united in the common aim of giving to the public a series of views that should satisfy both those who had travelled and those who wanted to, and the result was a series of splendid books that appeared in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

As on the relations of France and England depended not only the literature of the war, but a large part of that of foreign travel, it may be well to give a brief account of those relations and the principal books produced thereby before proceeding to the wider fields of Africa and the East.

The close intercourse between French and English society began with the Restoration, and, paramount even before the residence of Voltaire in England and the Anglophile tendencies of the Cyclopédistes, had been abruptly disturbed by the outbreak of the Revolution, which, by putting their theories into violent practice, produced an immediate change in the relation of French and English political parties. Whereas it had been the French liberals who had for nearly a century preached the virtues of English institutions and been honoured guests in English houses, it was now almost exclusively the royalists, the representatives of that *ancien régime* which the Anglophile liberals had been slowly undermining, who were received in England, who mixed in society, and by so doing identified England with the cause of the Bourbons; not the Court only, but all who could afford it, wore mourning for the execution of Louis

Le Lavoir de l'Hotel Dieu.

From *Views of Versailles* (1809) by J. C. Nattes.

XVI, and "War with France!" was shouted by the mob in the streets of London. The advent of Napoleon to power made no difference to the popular view, beyond furnishing it with a single object on which to concentrate its hate; to most Englishmen he remained throughout the incarnation of the revolutionary spirit, with the savoury addition of every private vice, and ministers as well as pamphleteers took up the cry. In his address to the throne on the 28th January 1800, Grenville declared that Bonaparte "had multiplied violations of all moral and religious duties; he had repeated acts of perfidy; his hypocrisies were innumerable"; and some months later, during the negotiations for the Peace of Amiens, Windham "warned the House against listening to the counsels of those who wanted to make a peace of pure love with a jacobin republic, and prayed God to avert such a peace from the country." But the peace was concluded, and with the peace came a renewal of social intercourse. Paris became more than ever a centre of interest to the English tourist, undeterred by that "likeness of a kingly crown" which, as Canning said, was already hovering about the temples of the First Consul.

The first man to rush to the Continent and record his impressions was Sir John Carr, a lawyer given to book-making of a pleasant if unsubstantial order, whose *Stranger in France, or a Tour from Devonshire to Paris*, was the first of a series of successful books which brought on him the ridicule of Byron and Dubois' skit of *My Pocket Book, or . . . the Stranger in Ireland.* Carr, desirous "to bridge over the separation of ten years, during which we have received very little account of

this extraordinary people," went to Havre in "a costly instrument of destruction," alias a fire-ship, and recorded what he saw in and on the way to Paris, details of inns, coaches, private life, interviews with famous men such as David and Bonaparte, in a spirit of candour remarkable in an Englishman of the time. He prophesies the approaching Empire: "If Bonaparte is spared from the stroke of the assassin, or the prætorian caprice of the army," and if his ambition will permit him to discharge this great undertaking "of rebuilding the social edifice of France," the people "will confer those sanctions upon his well-merited distinction, without which all authority is but disastrous usurpation." A second prediction is less happy. "Yes, Bonaparte! millions of suffering beings, raising themselves from the dust, in which a barbarous revolution has prostrated them, look up to thee for liberty, protection, and repose. They *will* not look to thee in vain." [1]

In the same year appeared Girtin's *Selection of Twenty Views in Paris*, already described, a work of artistic not of literary interest, and less significant than Carr's books of the change that had come over the spirit of English travel. Earlier generations had looked on a visit to France as part of the education of a gentleman, but as we see from the letters of Gray and Walpole, they felt little interest in anything but the court and courtly society. Chesterfield, indeed, with his keen political foresight, prophesied from the misery of the poor, especi-

[1] Sir J. Carr, like others of his generation, contrived to make literature very profitable: for the *Stranger in France* he received £100; for *A Northern Summer*, £800; for the *Stranger in Ireland*, £700; and for the *Tour through Holland*, £600.

ally in the provinces, the outbreak of a revolution, but his was a solitary voice, and not until Young's *Travels in France in 1787, 1788, and 1789*, published in 1792, translated into French in 1793, and reaching a second edition in both languages in 1794, do we find a real interest in social conditions, and Carr, trifler as he was, played a part in spreading the influence of the new idea. Henceforward, along with a political hatred that found its expression in caricatures of incredible ferocity, along with a credulity that could swallow the grossest lies, we find a genuine interest in foreign life and thought which contained the germs of sociological study and international goodwill.

The advance in artistic processes also contributed to this end by creating a new class of literature. Just as aquatint and coloured engraving had stimulated public interest in English scenery and English architecture, so its influence was now extended, and from France to the Straits Settlements life and scenery, a country and its inhabitants, became familiar to all who cared to read. As the new process had created new ideas, so it reacted on them, and not all the brutality of Gillray towards things not English can conceal the fact that books of travel were widening the minds of English men and women, and plates of costume and fashion stimulating their interest in the outer world. One explanation of this phenomenon was given by a shrewd observer when the Napoleonic storm was overpast. While Blake and Haydon were raising their solitary protest against the domination of portrait art in England, landscape, in books and pictures, was coming to its own, and the

writer in question, W. H. Pyne, thus explains this seeming inconsistency: "We have long observed that the English have a predilection for portrait, topography is a species of portraiture."[1]

Book production was, of course, largely affected by political events. The life and death of popular heroes led to popular biographies. Orme's *Graphic History of the Life, Exploits, and Death of Nelson* (1806), with its memoir by Blagdon and its sixteen plates, four of them coloured, is a type of these books, and Blagdon himself (1778-1819), as a type of the journalist-author of the period, deserves some attention. Originally a newspaper boy, he became secretary to Dr A. F. M. Willich, who taught him French and German, to which he added Spanish and Italian. On the title-page of his books he describes himself as Professor of the French, Italian, Spanish, and German languages. In 1802, he began to edit a series of travels under the title of *Modern Discoveries ; or, a Collection of Facts and Observations . . . of Celebrated Modern Travellers in every Quarter of the Globe*, which appeared during the next six years and comprised a translation from the French of Denon's *Travels in Egypt* in the train of Napoleon Bonaparte, and Golberry's *Travels in Africa ;* and from the German of Pallas's *Travels in the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire.* This last was issued in two forms in the years 1802-3, as *Modern Discoveries*, in four volumes 16mo, with small reproductions of the original plates in line, and in a handsome quarto edition reproduced from the original German edition of 1799-1801, with the fifty-

[1] *Somerset House Gazette*, i. p. 331.

two original plates, coloured and uncoloured, and the twenty-eight original vignettes of surprising attractiveness and beauty by C. H. G. Geissler. For illustrations and text alike, this is a very interesting and important book. The plates are of all kinds, some in stipple only, others with aquatint, line and stipple, all delicately coloured and of the specially attractive character of Geissler's work. Christian Gottfried Heinrich Geissler, draughtsman and engraver, was born at Leipzig in 1770 and accompanied Pallas in his journeys through the Russias. Nagler enumerates nine volumes illustrated by him, six dealing with Russian life and three with the practice of engraving and tinting in colours. He accompanied Pallas on his tour as artist, and all his work, with the exception of three treatises on the technical part of his art, is confined to various books on Russia. A second edition of this quarto issue, which was called for in 1812—doubtless owing to Napoleon's Russian campaigns—has nearly sixty additional plates, making in all one hundred and twenty-one, coloured and uncoloured, many of them signed by Medland.

Other works by Blagdon illustrated in aquatint are, *A Brief History of Ancient and Modern India*, reissued in 1813 as an appendix to Captain Thos. Williamson's *European in India;* the *Authentic Memoirs of George Morland* (1808); and *An Historical Memento representing the scenes of public rejoicing which took place the first of August in celebration of the glorious Peace of 1814, etc.* Blagdon's other activities do not concern us. He was associated with the *Morning Post*, and the rest of his work is connected

with politics and polemics of various kinds. Though a good writer, he was too apt to indulge in the stilted and pompous language so typical of the period, and, on the whole, posterity is probably not unjust in preferring the plates in his historical books to the matter that accompanies them. In biography his achievement was higher; much of his memoir of Nelson is vigorous and attractive, and the illustrations, notably the fine stipple portrait of Nelson by J. Godby, who also worked on three of the four aquatint plates, and those of the battles of the Nile, St Vincent, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar, are of great interest. Even better are his *Memoirs of George Morland*, an admirable volume full of just yet not excessive appreciation, and now extremely scarce, owing to its being frequently broken up for the value of its plates. Of these only one is in aquatint, the rest are in soft ground etching, mezzotint and stipple, the colour-printed mezzotints, rarely found associated with aquatint in illustration, being specially sought for.

To return to the literature of the Napoleonic era, the war itself naturally produced the largest crop of books. If a country was invaded, the public straightway desired an account of it, whether in the form of a book of travel or a narrative written from a military or naval point of view. Thus we have already seen Blagdon translating a book on Egypt, nor did that country escape the attention of the Rev. Cooper Willyams (1762-1816), topographer, artist, and clergyman, who, while holding livings in Kent and Cambridgeshire, went from hereditary love of the sea as naval chaplain on

the *Boyne* in the expedition to the West Indies headed by Grey and Jervis. In 1796 he published *An Account of the Campaign in the West Indies in 1794*; served as chaplain to Lord St Vincent, then on board the *Swiftsure*, and was present on that vessel at the battle of the Nile, of which his *Voyage up the Mediterranean in the Swiftsure* (1802) gives the earliest and most authentic account. He returned to England in 1800, received further ecclesiastical preferment, and died in London on July 17, 1816. *A Selection of Views* appeared after his death.

Mayer's *Views in Egypt*, 1801 and 1804, is purely topographical. A more literary work on the same subject is Walsh's *Journal of the late Campaign in Egypt* (1803), with forty-one plates, including six coloured aquatints by S. I. Neele, which is distinguished by that wide interest in topography, antiquities and social conditions, as well as purely military topics, characteristic of so many officers of the time. The same applies to an important volume on the Peninsular War, *Historical, Military, and Picturesque Observations on Portugal* (1818), by George Thomas Landmann, a colonel in the Royal Engineers. Other books on the same subject were Major St Clair's *Views of the Principal Occurrences of the Campaigns in Spain and Portugal* (1812), and Jacob's *Travels in the South of Spain* (1811).

Books on Wellington and Waterloo are a literature in themselves, and a few only can be mentioned here. Mudford's *Historical Account of the Campaigns in the Netherlands* (1817), with eight aquatint plates, some

of them after G. Cruikshank; the *Victories of the Duke of Wellington* (1819), with twelve plates after R. Westall, and Combe's *Wars of Wellington* of the same year should all be noticed. Of more general books may be mentioned Nicholson's *History of the Wars occasioned by the French Revolution* (1817), an accurate and on the whole impartial compilation, illustrated with gaudy equestrian portraits; *Historic, Military, and Naval Anecdotes of personal valour, etc., which occurred to the armies of Great Britain and her allies in the last long contested war, terminating with the Battle of Waterloo*, a handsome volume containing forty coloured aquatints, chiefly by Dubourg after Atkinson, Manskirsch, Clark, and others; and above all the *Martial Achievements of Great Britain and her Allies* (1815), and the companion volume, the *Naval Achievements of Great Britain* (1817), the one containing fifty, the other fifty-four coloured aquatints, eighty-three of which are engraved by T. Sutherland after Heath and Whitcomb. The two last books are worthy of their theme; nor could one desire a finer record of heroic deeds.

Patriotism found another outlet in the formation of Volunteer corps and bodies of militia all over the country, which led to the publication of such books as Rowlandson's *Loyal Volunteers* (1799) and *The British Volunteer* of the same year; these camps, as well as the foreign campaigns, may explain some part of the singular demand for books of naval and military, as well as national, costume, so characteristic of the beginning of the nineteenth century. Of the social consequences of the establishment of bodies of militia

in country towns, and the great camps at Brighton and elsewhere, every reader of Miss Austen knows something from the history of Lydia Bennet and the fascinating Wickham, while even the severe spinster Miss Grizzel Oldbuck was moved to remonstrance by Monkbarns' scorn of his patriotic neighbours. "Dear brother, dinna speak that gate o' the gentlemen volunteers—I am sure they have a most becoming uniform." [1]

Rowlandson's preface to the *Hungarian and Highland Broadsword Exercise* (1799) gives an idea of popular feeling at the time. "At a period when the spirit of the Nation is so eminently manifested, and when all that is loyal and honourable in this Empire is ranged in Arms to support its Government and Constitution, I may safely indulge the hope that my Countrymen will readily acknowledge the utility of the Work which I herewith offer them." But his patriotic fervour does not approach that of Ackermann, in his preface to the *Loyal Volunteers*. Both this and the preceding book are illustrated by Rowlandson, and the 111 plates in the two volumes are valuable as a record of the military life and costume of the time.

English interest in Russia was of earlier growth than the campaigns of Moscow. Blagdon's translation of Pallas's *Travels* had appeared in two forms in 1802-3, and in 1809 appeared an important book by Sir Robert Ker Porter (1777-1842), a painter and traveller, whose early ambition, first aroused by the sight of a battle-piece in the possession of Flora Macdonald, to become a painter of battles, caused him to seek an introduction to

[1] *The Antiquary*, chap. vi.

Benjamin West, who procured his admission as an historical student at Somerset House. There his progress was rapid, and besides executing various religious works, he had by 1800 obtained the position of scene-painter at the Lyceum, and belonged also to a society for the cultivation of historic landscape which included Girtin and Cotman among its members. His sensational picture of the *Storming of Seringapatam*, a panorama 120 feet long, containing 700 life-size figures, is stated by his sister the novelist, Jane Porter, then living with him, to have been painted in six weeks, though others say that it took ten. It was afterwards destroyed by fire, but some notion of its merits can be gained from existing sketches and the engravings of it by Vendramini. This was followed by similar topical battle-pieces, besides which he exhibited no less than thirty-eight pictures at the Royal Academy, historical pieces, landscapes and portraits, and one at the British Institution, between the years 1792 and 1832. In 1803 he was appointed a captain in the Westminster Militia, but his family dissuaded him from entering upon the career of a soldier, and his eager spirit seized on the wider field of travel and sightseeing offered him by his appointment as historical painter to the Czar. His life in St Petersburg was varied by a love affair with a Russian princess, which ended in his leaving Russia and travelling in Finland and Sweden, where he was knighted by Gustavus IV. in 1806. A meeting with Sir John Moore ended in an invitation to accompany him to Spain, where Porter was present at the battle of Coruña, and made many sketches of the campaign. This sketch-

book is now in the British Museum. At the same time he collected material for his *Letters from Portugal and Spain*, which, like his *Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden*, appeared in 1809. The book contains forty-one aquatints, plain and coloured, after Porter's own drawings, and is remarkable for the three names on every plate—*R. K. Porter delt, P. A. Hubert direxit, J. C. Stadler sculpt.* In 1811 he returned to Russia, married his princess in the following year, and on his return to England was knighted by the Prince Regent. On his return to Russia, in 1817, he started on a journey through the Caucasus to Teheran, Ispahan, Persepolis, Ecbatana, and Bagdad, and, following the course of Xenophon's Katabasis, returned to Scutari. The results of this journey appeared in his *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia* (1817-20), a very large book of high interest and value, again illustrated by himself, and marking, both in text and plates, a great advance on his previous work. In this book, as in the others, Porter's drawing of figures is distinctly better than his rendering of landscape. On his return to England he accepted the post of British Consul in Venezuela, which he held for fifteen years, painting large sacred pictures and exercising great hospitality. In 1841, he returned to England for a brief visit, went to Russia to visit his only daughter, who had married a Russian officer, and died in St Petersburg on May 4th, 1842.

Other important books on Russia were a *Historical Sketch of Moscow* (1813), Johnston's *Travels through part of the Russian Empire* (1815), Mornay's *Picture*

of St Petersburg (1805), and Lyall's *Character of the Russians* (1823), all illustrated with aquatints of varying degrees of merit.

Art, even apart from books, played a great part in the struggle. No great war ever involved so many interesting personalities,[1] none ever aroused so great a sense of personal interest; and where the personal element enters, literature and art, in some form or other, are bound to follow. It was in vain for Fox to protest against "all this sort of invective, which is used only to inflame the passions of this house and the country"; pamphlet and cartoon, in which truth was strictly subordinated to effect, followed each other in quick succession. Gillray held the popular ear, and the undercurrent of serious good feeling and social bonds revealed in the books of travel already spoken of was too often obscured by the scum of acceptable lies. "We prided ourselves on our prejudices," says Thackeray in the *Four Georges*, "we blustered and bragged with absurd vainglory; we dealt to our enemy a monstrous injustice of contempt and scorn; we fought him with all weapons, mean as well as heroic. There was no lie we would not believe; no charge of crime which our furious prejudice would not credit. I thought at one time of making a collection of the lies which the French had written against us, and we had published against them during the war; it would be a strange memorial of popular falsehoods."

[1] "Were not all the world concerned in the drama! all the Mighty Kings, all the Petty Princes, Buonaparte, Pitt, Burke, Sheridan, Fox. The Age of Pigmies and the Age of Giants." (*Somerset House Gazette* (1824), vol. i. p. 359.)

It is pleasant to leave the military and political life of the time and to turn once more to books of travel for travelling's sake. The tourist is not always a dignified figure, but at least he is a factor in international peace.

Enough has been said of travels in France, but Germany, Holland, the Baltic, Italy, Spain even, in its physical aspects at least, all received their share of the new literature of scenery and topography; while such books as Heriot's *Picturesque Tour through the Pyrenean Mountains*, Shoberl's *Picturesque Tour from Geneva to Milan*, and Tooke's *Picturesque Scenery of Norway* herald the growth of the English taste for mountaineering.

As far as the illustrations go, this book of Heriot's presents a strong contrast to his other work, the *Canadas*, though each is a good example of the technical range to be found in pure aquatint. The *Canadas* has the very coarsest of grounds, and the *Pyrenees* the finest: both are uncoloured, but while the first is very thin and poor, the last is exceedingly rich, though printed only in sepia. In another book on the same subject, J. Hardy's *Tour of the High Pyrenees*, the plates are among the most beautiful to be found in aquatint engraving. They measure only $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the ground is exceedingly fine, and there is no line whatever. The colouring is most delicate, and all the twenty-four illustrations are exquisite. On Plate 19, "*The Cascade of L'Escombons*," there is a tiny touch of white left in a bird flying across the ravine, which is masterly.

Corsica, since the days of Boswell and Paoli a constant source of interest to Englishmen, had now an added

interest as the birthplace of the Usurper, but of the books devoted to it Robert Benson's *Sketches in Corsica* (1825) with aquatint plates, alone calls for mention here.

One of the earliest illustrated books on the Rhine district was the Rev. John Gardnor's *Views on and near the River Rhine* (1788 and 1791); of the author a brief account is given elsewhere, but, except from his position as one of the ealiest aquatintists, his work is of no importance.

Among the very few books of travel written by a woman at this period those of Maria Graham, afterwards Lady Callcott, 1785-1842, take a high place. The daughter of Admiral Dundas, she first married Captain Thomas Graham, R.N., with whom she travelled widely, publishing pleasantly written accounts of her journeys. *Three Months passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820) is the earliest of these, and was followed in 1824 by *A Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* and *A Journal of a Residence in Chile.* Her first husband died off Cape Town in 1822, on a voyage to South America, but his wife proceeded to Valparaiso, and after remaining there a few months as instructress to Donna Maria of Brazil she returned to England, settled down to literary work, and in 1827 married Sir A. W. Callcott, R.A. Though an invalid during her later years, she wrote a long series of moral stories for children and is known to most people, by tradition at least, as the author of *Little Arthur's History of England.*

Earlier than any of these were the important books

on France and Italy produced by Albanis de Beaumont, a Piedmontese naturalised in England, who was at once landscape painter, draughtsman and engraver. His first book of views, *Voyage Pittoresque aux Alpes Pennines*, was published at Genoa in 1787, before he settled in England; but during the latter part of his life he entered into partnership with one Thomas Gowland and the Dutch amateur Cornelius Apostool for the purpose of producing a similar series of views. The earlier volumes were charmingly coloured by Bernard Lory the elder, and met with great success, but the later drawings lack this attraction. Beaumont's drawing is weak, and only the volumes in which the plates were worked on by Apostool and Lory are of any importance in the history of aquatint, though the series embraces four volumes, all of large size.

Cornelius Apostool (1762-1844), a Dutch amateur, also a painter and engraver in aquatint, born at Amsterdam of a good old merchant stock, visited this country with Henry Meyer. After his return to Amsterdam in 1796 he held several public and diplomatic appointments, including, in 1808, the directorship of the Amsterdam Museum. As a connoisseur his sympathies were wide, and he did useful work on the commission for the recovery of the Dutch works of art carried off by Napoleon. He published a number of volumes during his stay in England, including *Beauties of the Dutch School*, *Select Views in the South of France*, and two plates in Daniell's *Views of Hindostan*, and executed engravings after Hogarth, Barret and others.

More important, because not yet superseded, is

Sir George Steuart Mackenzie's book on Iceland. Mackenzie, a distinguished mineralogist, went out with Sir Henry Holland and Dr Richard Bright, the book, *Travels in Iceland* (1811), being their joint production. The scientific parts have long been out of date, but the aquatints by J. Clark are of some interest, and the narrative, which was contributed by Mackenzie, is of permanent value. The mineralogical collections they brought back were spoken of with admiration by Sir Charles Lyell.

The beginning of the nineteenth century, if more commonly thought of in connection with romanticism, was for England also a time of revival in classical studies. To French travellers we owe some of the earliest books on travel in classical lands, as well as the earliest artistic record of the Parthenon, but in the decade between 1760 and 1770 the Society of Dilettanti and writers like Chandler, Stuart and Revett had done much good work in the same direction, while Sir William Chambers and the brothers Adam had made exhaustive studies of classic ornament. Curiously little was done, however, save for the publication of the Hamilton Vases, between 1770 and 1804, but in this year was published the first of several books with aquatint illustrations which did much to prepare English minds for the revelation of the Elgin Marbles, Gell's *Topography of Troy and its Vicinity*, followed three years later by the *Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca* and Wilkins' *Antiquities of Magna Græcia.* Gell's *Itinerary* (1810) is an attempt to go through Greece, Pausanias and Strabo in hand, but, as in his earlier book on Troy, the

author's taste was for topography rather than antiquities, and Byron's well-known couplet hints at this limitation ;—

> "Of Dardan tours let dilettanti tell,
> I leave topography to classic Gell."

So it stands in the first four editions; in the fifth, Byron, who had, by that time, visited the Troad, altered "classic" to "rapid," since Gell had "topographised and typographised King Priam's dominions in three days." An earlier book, the *Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca* (1807) is more important for present purposes, since it contains eight aquatint plates, some of them of large size, by Tomkins, Wright and Bluck. The preface is interesting as laying stress on the contemporary interest in Homeric antiquities, Ithaca being treated primarily as the kingdom of Ulysses. Gell's other books, important as they are, are not illustrated in aquatint, nor are his illustrations in any case as important as his matter.

Another writer on the Levantine area was James Dallaway (1763-1834), whose *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*, published in 1797, at once took its place as a standard book. From the artistic standpoint it is noteworthy for its fine early aquatints, ten plates and a vignette on the title, by Stadler, which have the feature, unusual in book illustration, of an aquatint border forming a frame round each plate. The effect is good, and the pictures among the most interesting of Stadler's earlier work.[1]

[1] A note in the *Diary* of Charles Turner for March 1803, throws some light on the very obscure subject of the payment of aquatintists, and may be here inserted as having reference to a plate with an aquatint border similar to those in Dallaway's book above mentioned: "Finished Mrs Mountain and Paid for Aquatinting the Border, 10. 6." (See the *Connoisseur*, Jan. 1909, where a reproduction of the plate in question is given.)

Middleton's *Grecian Remains in Italy* (1812), Dodwell's *Views in Greece* (1821), and P. F. Laurent's *Recollections of a Classical Tour* of the same year all played their part in the creation of English archæology, then and for sometime afterwards chiefly based on a study of classical architecture. A little later came Professor T. L. Donaldson's *Pompeii Illustrated* (1829), in which the plates were the work of J. P. Cockburn (1779-1847), a major-general in the Royal Artillery, who as a cadet had been a pupil of Paul Sandby. He became an artist of distinction, and during his periods of leave made many drawings of continental scenery, chiefly published in four series between 1820 and 1822. *A Voyage to Cadiz and Gibraltar* (1815) seems to have been the earliest of his published works.

An interesting fact to which little attention has been directed is that a revival of interest in the nearer East, proved by the publication of a number of books of travel, must have had great influence in preparing the way for Byron. Such works as Mayer's *Views in Turkey* (1801), *Views in the Ottoman Empire* (1803), and *Views in the Ottoman Dominions* (1810), and Hamilton's *Remarks on Several Parts of Turkey* (1809) did much to familiarise the public with things Eastern, while in J. C. Hobhouse's *Journey through Albania* (1813) we have a direct link with Byron, as well as with the largest and most important section of books of foreign travel illustrated with aquatints, those on the East.

Since the days of Bruce and the parodies of Münchausen, Abyssinia had been a topic of incredulous interest in England, and Henry Salt, the author, *longo*

intervallo, of the second great book on that country, was a traveller of no small importance. Born in 1780, in 1797 he became a pupil of Joseph Farington, and later of John Hoppner, being intended for a portrait painter. But he never obtained full mastery over his material, and found a more congenial occupation in accompanying Lord Valentia as secretary and draughtsman on a tour in the East in 1802. He made many drawings to illustrate Lord Valentia's *Voyages and Travels to India* (1809),[1] and in the same year published his *Twenty-four Views in St Helena and Egypt.* In that year he was sent by the British Government to Abyssinia, a mission resulting in the book above mentioned, and in 1815 he was appointed British Consul-General in Egypt, and died in office in 1827. "Hinorai Sawelt," as his correspondent the ras of Tigre called him, made several notable collections of Egyptian antiquities, one of which, after long negotiations, owing to the prices he asked, passed to the British Museum, a second to the Louvre, while a third was sold after his death, £4500 being then expended at this sale by the British Museum. He was also the patron of Belzoni, who, through his means, obtained the colossal bust of Rameses II in the British Museum, and the great sarcophagus, now the glory of the Soane Museum, which had been refused by the authorities of the British Museum. Only this

[1] Cf. *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*,

> "Let vain Valentia rival luckless Carr
> And equal him whose work he sought to mar,"

with its yet unkinder note, "Lord Valentia, whose tremendous travels are forthcoming with due decorations, graphical, topographical, and typographical."

one book of Salt's, *Views in St Helena and Egypt*, was illustrated in aquatint, and it posseses a certain historical interest from the date of its publication, some years before the name of St Helena can have conveyed much to Englishmen.

George Hutchinson Bellasis and William Innes Pocock (1783-1836) claim the priority in the small group of books relating to the island in its historic days. Bellasis' *Views of St Helena*, with six coloured aquatints by Havell, appeared in 1815, as did Pocock's *Five Views of the Island of St Helena.* The second son of Nicholas Pocock the marine painter, Pocock early entered the navy, and made several voyages to the Cape, St Helena, and China. During the last of these his ship was detained at St Helena to refit, and he spent his leisure in making sketches of the island, then, thanks to Napoleon, the subject of great curiosity in this country. Watt in his *Bibliographica Britannica* states that in 1815 Pocock also published *Naval Records, consisting of a Series of Engravings from Original Designs by Nicholas Pocock; illustrative of the Engagements at Sea since the Commencement of the War in 1793, with an Account of each Action.* Pocock waxes enthusiastic over the value of St Helena as a political prison, "a place where the extraordinary prisoner now on his voyage thither may be securely confined—as far as possible from the admiring curiosity of the many of all countries," and concludes that "the dominions of Great Britain do not offer a more eligible place than St Helena."

Another book on the same subject, illustrated in

aquatint, is *Tracts Relative to the Island of St Helena* (1816), by a more important authority than Pocock, Alexander Beatson, a lieutenant-general in the East India Company's service, who took an active part in Lord Cornwallis's campaigns against Tippoo Sahib, and was present at the capture of Seringapatam in 1799. From 1808-13 he held the governorship of St Helena, then belonging to the East India Company, and in a very unsatisfactory state, having been decimated by epidemics. In 1811 only the firmness of Beatson stopped a serious mutiny, and affairs were in a better condition when the English Government took over the island as a dependency of the Crown. Beatson returned to England in 1813, and his *Tracts* were published in 1816, when he had settled down to a life of agricultural experiments, which lasted until his death in 1833.

Still another volume of *Views of the Island of St Helena* was published by James Wathen, alias "Jemmy Sketch," traveller and glover, in 1821, and in the following year Salt's book was reissued, the last of this special group of books whose artistic interest is, on the whole, less than their historical importance. James Wathen (1751?-1828) was likewise the author of *A Voyage to Madras and China* (1814), also illustrated in aquatint from his own drawings; in the earlier part of his life he made pedestrian tours about Great Britain, which he described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and in 1816 paid a visit to Byron in Italy.

The scientific results of the books on Africa thus far considered is small; we now come to a name of great distinction in the history of exploration, that of Thomas

Edward Bowdich (1791-1824), son of a hat manufacturer at Bristol. After spending a year in his father's business and making a very early marriage, his uncle, then chief governor of the settlements belonging to the African Company, gave him a writership in the service, and in 1815 he was appointed conductor of the Company's mission to Ashantee. He was, however, superseded on account of his youth, but, subsequent events demanding diplomacy and personal courage, he was restored to the command, and concluded a successful treaty with the King of Ashantee by which peace was assured to the British settlements on the Gold Coast. The work in which he records the results of his *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (1819) was received with enthusiasm, and his account of a people hitherto unknown and their "warlike barbaric splendour" excited widespread interest. On his return home in 1818 he exposed the African Company's management of their possessions with such success that the home government took them into its own hands. Having presented to the British Museum his collection of works of art, native manufactures, and specimens of reptiles and insects, he went to Paris to improve himself in certain departments of scientific travelling, where he and his wife, his constant companion and the illustrator of many of his books, were welcomed by all the savants of the day; Cuvier placed his library and collections at his disposal during the three years he remained, years which were fruitful in scientific work, much of it of permanent interest. In 1822 he and his devoted wife started on a second expedition to West Africa. They were de-

tained some months in Madeira, and again at the mouth of the Gambia, where he caught cold while taking astronomical observations at night, and died in 1825 at the age of thirty-three. An interesting account of this "Christian, scholar and gentleman" is to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824, vol. i. p. 279-80.

Another important traveller was W. J. Burchell, a naturalist and explorer who, in 1805, was appointed by the East India Company "schoolmaster and acting botanist" at the island of St Helena. While there he made the acquaintance of General Janssens, the last Dutch governor of the Cape, and of Dr Martin Lichtenstein, then a young physician on the governor's staff, and afterwards a celebrated Berlin naturalist. Furnished with letters of introduction from them to the chief Dutch and German residents, Burchell set off to the Cape with the intention of exploring the interior of South Africa. A party of Hottentots were his sole companions and assistants in more than three years of exploration, during which he made large collections of mammalia, a selection from which, originally presented to the British Museum, is now at South Kensington. He only published the first part of his *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa* (1822-24), a book written in excellent style and illustrated from his own drawings. In 1825, he planned and carried out alone a journey across South America, but the only published account of these explorations is contained in two letters to Sir William Hooker, printed in vol. ii. of the *Botanical Miscellany*. On this occasion he made most extensive botanical collections, which, together with the MSS. relating to them, were presented

to Kew Gardens after his death. Dr Swainson has said of him that "he must be regarded as one of the most learned and accomplished travellers of any age or country," and that, to her lasting disgrace, "he is signally neglected in his own country."

Though he was a traveller of a far less scientific order, the career of Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1758-1836) is not without interest. The eldest son of a Moravian minister, and originally a musical composer, he took up his father's calling and visited South Africa as an advocate of Moravian missions. His *Journal of a Visit to South Africa* (1818) is a good specimen of the early literature of missionary effort, giving a sufficiently vivid record of personal experiences, native customs, and objects of natural interest that come under his notice, though mainly taken up with the affairs of the United Brethren. The aquatint plates by Stadler, Bluck and Havell are fair specimens of their class. As a publisher of selections of sacred music Latrobe did real service in introducing the forgotten work of good musicians to public notice, and he was besides a composer of some merit. He also published a number of books on various subjects, none of which concern the student of aquatint. Other important works on African travel illustrated in aquatint are Spilsbury's *Account of a Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa* (1806) and J. Mollien's *Travels in the Interior of Africa* (1820), but they call for no detailed notice here.

Retracing our steps, we must now turn to the books on Asia and the East, beginning with Persia and the works of James Justinian Morier, the delectable author of

Hajji Baba. Six of the seven Moriers mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography* belonged to one family, all were distinguished, and all diplomatists, a case probably without parallel in our history. James Justinian's father was consul of the Levant Company, his three brothers and his nephews were distinguished diplomatists, but his own diplomatic services, his other novels, even his fame as a writer of travels are forgotten in the unquenchable laughter that glorifies the name of Hajji Baba of Ispahan.

Morier was born at Smyrna about 1780, was sent to Harrow, and entered the diplomatic service in 1807, as private secretary to Sir Harford Jones' mission to the Court of Persia. Next year he became secretary of legation, and after three months in Teheran was sent home, probably with despatches, returning via Turkey in Asia, and so obtaining the material for his *Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the Years 1808 and 1809*, which was published in 1812, during his second absence in Persia, and at once took rank as a work of high authority. Morier's style is admirable, even in this his earliest book, humorous, vivid, and accurate; translations into French and German appeared in 1813 and 1815. Meanwhile Morier's second diplomatic appointment as secretary of embassy to Sir Gore Ouseley, ambassador extraordinary to the Court of Teheran, took place in 1810, and he sailed, it is interesting to note, on the same vessel, the *Lion*, which had carried Macartney and his mission to China in 1792. The work of the embassy, an attempt to enlist the support of Persia against the Russo-French

alliance, is described in his *Second Journey to Persia* (1818). From 1814-15 Morier was left in charge of the embassy at Teheran, but in the latter year was recalled, returned to England by his former route, retired from the service on a pension in 1817, and thenceforth, save for a period of special service as Commissioner in Mexico from 1824-26, devoted himself to literary work. *Hajji Baba*, his best and earliest novel, made a great sensation, and its publication is said to have caused a remonstrance from the Persian ambassador; but its perennial humour, freshness, and satire still suggest that Scott was not far wrong in acclaiming Morier in the *Quarterly Review* as the best novelist of the day. He was also an artist of some merit, and his illustrations to his *Travels* are of considerable interest. He died in 1849.

Sir Robert Kerr Porter, whose work has already been described at length in connection with Russia, published later in life some interesting *Travels in Georgia* (1821), the illustrations, also from his own drawings, showing a great advance on those in his earlier books. J. G. Jackson's *Account of the Empire and District of Suse* (1809) is another important book of travels with aquatint plates.

With books on India we reach the subject most important to the student of coloured books of travel, for it naturally offered the widest field to the artist both from the point of view of sport and costume, and from the growing interest in the country aroused by the campaigns of Lake and Wellesley and its ever closer connection with England. Edward Orme was after Ackermann the most important publisher in the period

under review, and to his press we owe most of the fine books on India that appeared about that time, but little seems to be known of him except the fact that he was publisher to the king. The first of his name to write was Robert Orme, the historian whose *History* (1763), "containing the exploits of Clive and Lawrence, was his favourite book of all in his father's library," and sent Colonel Newcome to India. It is a happy but unproven conjecture that this Robert was an older kinsman of Edward Orme and of Daniel and W. Orme, the artists who illustrated many of the volumes published by Edward Orme. A curious obscurity hangs over this interesting group, only known to us, despite the high importance of their work, as publishers and artists. Almost the only reference to the publisher is a footnote in Blagdon's introduction to the *Historical Memento representing the Different Scenes of Public Rejoicing in celebration of the Glorious Peace of 1814, etc.* "In the course of the war Mr Edward Orme of Bond Street has not been inactive in the good cause; he has omitted no opportunity of bringing forward to public admiration, by the graphic art, the principal events in which our arms have triumphed both by sea and land; publishing at various periods engravings of those great exploits most calculated to impress the mind with correct ideas of the arduous struggles which have immortalised the British name; as also correct portraits of our gallant officers, the stay and honour of their country." The earliest of Orme's Indian publications was *Twelve Views of Places in the Kingdom of Mysore*, by R. H. Colebrook (1794), with large coloured aquatints by J. W. Edy; *Picturesque*

Scenery in the Kingdom of Mysore (1805), with its forty coloured aquatints after James Hunter, returned to the same subject, and is frequently bound with two other of Orme's publications *Twenty-four Views in Hindostan* (1803), and Blagdon's *Brief History of Ancient and Modern India* (1805).

The artists who collaborated with him on the Indian series were Thomas Daniell and his nephew William, both landscape painters. In 1784 Thomas went to India, taking with him William, then only fourteen years of age. They stayed ten years, making a large number of drawings in various parts of the Continent, at that time but little visited. On their return they set to work on the great publication issued in 1808 under the title of *Oriental Scenery*. Two years later appeared another book in which uncle and nephew collaborated, *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way of China*. Thomas Daniell was a frequent contributor to the Royal Academy, and having made a good deal of money by the sale of his eastern drawings, retired early from public life. His other nephew Samuel was also a landscape painter, and all three were skilled engravers, though the plates of Samuel show perhaps the most proficiency. His taste for natural history led to his visiting the Cape of Good Hope during the first British occupation of that colony. In 1801 he went as secretary and draughtsman to the mission headed by Truter and Somerville to visit Bechuanaland, a narrative of which by Truter was appended to Barrow's *Voyage to Cochinchina* (1806). In 1806, Daniell went out to Ceylon, where he died in 1811, his constitution having

THE ELK.

From *A Picturesque Illustration of the Scenery, Animals, and Native Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon* (1808) by S. Daniell.

become weakened from exposure in swamps and forests when sketching. His very fine work on *African Scenery and Animals*, which came out in 1804-5 without a title-page, contains fifty plates drawn and engraved by himself, and his other book, *A Picturesque Illustration of the Scenery, Animals, and Native Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon*, has some attractive aquatints after his drawings. William Daniell's great work, *A Voyage round Great Britain*, published in four volumes in 1825, will be treated in the following chapter, and the illustrations for the *Oriental Annual* for 1834-38 are also engraved from his drawings, but his work on Smyth's book on Sicily needs a few words to itself.

William Henry Smyth (1788-1865), at first an officer in the East India Company's service, was with his ship transferred to the navy in 1805, and after seeing active service in the East and off the coast of Spain, was made commander and appointed to survey the coasts of Sicily and the adjacent countries on behalf of the Admiralty. His results were published in the *Memoir of Sicily* (1824), the scientific apparatus, notes on hydrography, natural features, fishes, and statistical tables of towns and villages being relegated to an appendix. Smyth's interest lies elsewhere, in the poems of Meli, in which Leigh Hunt afterwards took such delight, in the religious ceremonies of the country, and the remains of ancient art and mediæval architecture. But the chief importance of the book lies in its plates, probably the most exquisite specimens of uncoloured aquatint to be found in any book, by "my friend Mr Daniell, R.A., whose views and picturesque scenery in India have

established his reputation," a reference which, with a consideration of dates, fixes the artist as *William* Daniell (1769-1837), rather than his uncle Thomas Daniell (1749-1840). Of the beauty of his work it is impossible to speak too highly. Take, for instance, the plate of the papyrus; no such representation of this exquisite plant has been produced by modern art, while technically the plate is a wonder, the aquatint background being scarcely distinguishable from a wash. Again, architectural effects have never been better reproduced than in plates like the "*Cadavery near Palermo*," a long vaulted building with light streaming in from the sides and illuminating the round niches in the walls and their ghastly contents, "mummies, that are here hung by the neck in hundreds," or that even more wonderful plate, beside which the illustrations in the *Stones of Venice* look poor and amateur, the Gothic "*Cathedral Gate of Messina*," than which no finer architectural plate exists.

Smyth was himself an admirable architectural draughtsman, as his illustrations to his later book on Sardinia prove, and one cannot but suspect that the illustrations to the *Sicily*, so different in character from Daniell's usual work, may have owed something at least to his taste. Smyth early retired from active service, and, devoting himself to a life of scientific research, published numerous volumes on astronomy, numismatics, and naval matters during the last forty years of his life, none, however, illustrated in aquatint.

There are a few other books on India not published by Orme which claim notice, chiefly on account of their

THE PAPYRUS PLANT.

From *Memoirs descriptive of Sicily and its Islands* (1824) by Captain W. H. Smyth.

plates. Among these the most important is Captain Charles Gold's *Oriental Drawings* (1806), containing interesting sketches of the dress of native regiments and of various religious fanatics, such as the Gentoo devotee who rolled from Trichinopoli to Pylney, and another enthusiast who wore an oblong iron grating round his neck to prevent his ever lying down. The *Journal of a Route across India* (1819) of George Augustus Frederic Fitzclarence, first Earl of Munster, is an interesting record of travels in little-known regions. The author made the campaigns of 1813-14 in Spain and the south of France, then went to India as aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Hastings, and under him went through the Mahratta compaigns of 1816-17. When peace was concluded the dispatches were sent home in duplicate, and those sent by the overland route were entrusted to Fitzclarence. His account of this journey is well written and interesting, but the Colonel's literary gift can hardly have been derived from his father; it must have come from Dora Jordan—"Shakespeare's woman," as Leigh Hunt somewhere calls her—"whom even the Methodists loved." The book is illustrated by some curious sketches of Indian military costume, which were engraved by Havell.

Earlier than any book thus far mentioned was *Select Views in India, drawn on the spot in 1780, 1781, 1782 and 1783, by William Hodges, R.A.*, a series of forty-eight plates engraved and coloured by the author and published in 1786. It is a grand book, though the plates are somewhat heavily coloured by hand to give the appearance of drawings. Humboldt's desire to

travel was directly inspired by a sight of these Indian views.

Hodges (1744-1797) was originally an errand boy at Shipley's drawing-school, picked up his knowledge of drawing bit by bit, and was eventually taken as assistant and pupil by Richard Wilson. Through the interest of Lord Palmerston he obtained the post of draughtsman to Captain Cook's second expedition to the South Seas, and on his return was employed by the Admiralty to finish his drawings and superintend the engraving of them for the publication of Captain Cook's *Voyages*, published in 1777. In 1780 he went to India under the patronage of Warren Hastings, and in the following years made those drawings from which the selection already mentioned was published. On his return he became a Royal Academician, painting pictures somewhat in the style of Wilson, a few of which were engraved; but as an artist he met with little encouragement, and after 1790 gave up his profession and died in obscurity in 1797. Two of his characteristic pictures are in the Soane Museum.

One of the finest books of travel brought out by Ackermann was Lieut.-Col. Forrest's *Picturesque Tour along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna* (1824), published in six monthly parts, and containing twenty-six fine coloured aquatints, nineteen by T. Sutherland and five by G. Hunt. Another, issued by the same publisher and immortalised in *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, was Captain R. M. Grindlay's *Scenery, Costumes and Architecture—chiefly on the Western Side of India* (1826), in which the plates are distributed among numerous artists

THE TAJ MAHAL.

From *A Picturesque Tour along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna* (1824) by C. R. Forrest.

and engravers; unlike the majority of the books named in this section, none are from the hand of the author, so that Christopher North's compliment, "Pen, pencil, or sword, come alike to the hand of an accomplished British officer," is less appropriate here than it would have been in many other cases. The book is also notable as one of the few which preserve the name of the colourist of the plates, one J. B. Hogarth.

Among the latest books on India illustrated in aquatint is Captain Richard Barron's *Views in India, chiefly among the Neelgherry Hills* (1837), a large volume with poor and gaudy plates by Havell after Barron's drawings. It is chiefly remarkable as incidentally proving how great a part of India was still unknown at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Barron states that the Nilgherries were only discovered in 1819 through two civil servants chasing a body of tobacco smugglers up a small pass, and so reaching "a tableland and an European climate." Truly, of making books on India there is no end, and this long list must close with the mention of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone's *Kingdom of Cabul* (1815), an able and interesting account of a land but little known.

Less numerous than those on India, books on China are still a formidable array. Lord Macartney's embassy in 1792, opened a new world to the traveller, and thenceforward books on China were constantly produced. In *Mansfield Park*, Edmund finds Fanny in her little attic "taking a trip into China with Lord Macartney"; a little later she would have had a greater choice of books on the subject. The earliest of those illustrated in aquatint were John Barrow's *Travels in China* (1804) and

A Voyage to Cochin China (1806), both illustrated by William Alexander (1767-1816), the first Keeper of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, who had gone out as junior draughtsman with Lord Macartney's embassy, some of his drawings being published in the official account brought out in 1797. Alexander also published several books under his own name. In 1812 he became professor of drawing at the military college at Great Marlow, though already holding his Keepership at the British Museum. The latter office had been created in 1808 in consequence of serious thefts from the Museum, but it was considered so unimportant that, on Alexander's death of brain fever in 1816, the Archbishop of Canterbury "was astonished" that his successor, J. T. Smith, "should think it worth while to waste his strength in pursuit of such a trifling office." Alexander was an excellent draughtsman, and his illustrations are of considerable value. Another embassy to China led to a more important publication than either of Barrow's works, the *Journal of the Proceedings of the late Embassy to China* (1817), by Sir Henry Ellis (1777-1855), third commissioner, whose narrative takes the form of a diary of great value and interest. It contains an appendix of official papers chiefly translated from the Chinese and a map of the route taken by the embassy, and is illustrated with admirable plates by J. Clark after the Hon. Charles Abbot. An interesting note by Ellis adds that "had the author's intention been known or indeed, had it existed at Canton, the value of the work would probably have been increased by some efforts of Mr Havell's pencil; these will now, however, be reserved for a

separate publication," which, however, was never issued. On his return Ellis became Clerk of the Pells, which office he held until its abolition in 1834, as well as several diplomatic appointments, while he did valuable work in settling the relations between the East India Company and the Government. He died a K.C.B. and a Privy Councillor in 1855.

Two years before Ellis's book was published, appeared Captain Basil Hall's *Account of a Voyage . . . to Corea*, the earliest work of a man endeared to posterity by the affection of Sir Walter Scott, who received him at Abbotsford in 1825, and was repaid by much delicate courtesy when he left England on his last sad journey. Hall (1788-1844) was a captain in the navy with a strong taste for exploration, as well as for literature. In 1815 he was appointed to the *Lyra* and ordered to China in company with the *Alceste* frigate and Lord Amherst's embassy; the book above mentioned gives his account of this journey. On the way home he had a famous interview with Napoleon, who had known his father, Sir James Hall, when at school. The book was several times reprinted, as were also his better-known *Fragments of Voyages and Travels*, of which three series, in nine volumes, were issued between 1831 and 1833. His books are valuable not only for their vivid and trustworthy descriptions of travel, but for the information they contain as to the state of the Navy in the early part of last century. A less important but still interesting book is M'Leod's *Narrative of a Voyage to the Yellow Sea* (1817), illustrated with aquatints by J. Clark, after the author and Lieutenant W. H. Dwarris.

In spite of its geographical and commercial importance, Java had been an almost unknown land to Englishmen since the end of the sixteenth century had given us *A true report of the gainefull voyage to Java,* save for the fruitful fiction of the Upas tree, which invested the name of the island with lurid romance. In 1817 appeared the monumental work of Sir Thos. Stamford Raffles, which in spite of certain inaccuracies is still a standard book. Raffles (1781-1826) was originally a clerk in the East India House, where he was somewhat junior to Charles Lamb; his ability was noticed by the directors, and in 1805 he was sent out to Penang, where, owing to his zeal and linguistic gifts, he soon obtained promotion. In the year 1811, Lord Minto, then commanding in the Malay Peninsula, undertook the reduction of Java, and his success was largely due to Raffles' tact and local knowledge. Minto appointed him lieutenant-governor, which office he held until the restoration of the island to the Dutch in 1814. His administration was fiercely attacked by the military commandant, General Gillespie, and on his recall, though exonerated from the charge of personal misconduct, he could not clear himself in the eyes of the directors. Henceforth he devoted himself to the production of his work on Java, which was begun in October 1816, and published in the following May. He was interested in every aspect of his subject, and devotes whole sections to Javan ethics, literature, poetry, music, and musical instruments, drama, games of skill and methods of hunting, besides the more ordinary matters of interest population, natural history, religion, antiquities, and the military

system. At the end of the second volume a hundred and fifty pages are given up to the comparative vocabularies of Java and the neighbouring islands, and the whole is a unique monument erected by a great ruler to those over whom he rules, and, incidentally, to his own honour. Of his subsequent career, his interesting discoveries in natural history and his early death this is no place to speak, but the writer of the Life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* does not exaggerate when he calls him "one of the first authorities on all matters, scientific, historical, or philological connected with the eastern seas," the maritime supremacy of which he undoubtedly won for England. His other publications are unimportant pamphlets, but the *History of Java* stands very high in its own class, and the aquatint plates are full of interest, though they are, unfortunately, not signed.

Something has already been said of Hodges' work as draughtsman to the second expedition of Captain Cook; the draughtsman to the third and last expedition was John Webber (1750?-1793), the son of a Swiss sculptor who had settled in England and anglicised his name. James was educated as a landscape painter, but a portrait of his brother, exhibited by him in the Royal Academy of 1776, procured him his appointment, and he sailed with Cook to the South Seas. He returned in 1780, having witnessed the death of his leader, and for some time the Admiralty employed him in making finished drawings from his sketches for the official account of the expedition published in 1784. He then published, on his own account, through Boydell,

sixteen views of places he had visited with Captain Cook, engraved and coloured by himself. He painted a famous picture of the death of Cook which was engraved by Boyne and Bartolozzi, and he also engraved his own portrait of the captain, which is now in the National Portrait Gallery. How great an impression he produced on his contemporaries may be gathered from the *Diary* of Fanny Burney, who twice refers to him (vol. i. p. 466; vol. v. p. 19, ed. 1905). Under March 25th 1781, she writes: "We went to Mr Webber's, to see his South Sea drawings. . . . They are extremely well worth seeing; they consist of views of the country of Otaheite, New Zealand, New Amsterdam, Kamschatka, and parts of China; and portraits of the inhabitants done from life." Ten years later, when staying in Devonshire, she was reminded by the local cockle gatherers of the drawings of Webber from the South Sea Islanders, "women scarce clothed at all, with feet and legs entirely naked, straw bonnets of uncouth shapes tied on their heads, a sort of man's jacket on their bodies, and their short coats pinned up in the form of trousers, very succinct!"

Turning from the South Seas to Australia, we find that only one important book with aquatint illustrations appears to have been issued. This is Lycett's *Views in Australia* (1824), a series of fifty plates, coloured and uncoloured, making a not unsuccessful attempt to reproduce some of the more remarkable features of Australian scenery. The descriptive letterpress is of considerable historical value.

Illustrated books on North America are curiously

few in the period with which we deal. By far the most important is Heriot's *Travels through the Canadas*, two bulky volumes interesting for their aquatints by Stadler and Lewis after Heriot, and for the author's first-hand knowledge of his subject, gained during many years' experience as Deputy Postmaster-General of North America. The most important section of his book is the *Comparative View of the Manners and Customs of several of the Indian Nations of North and South America*. As an artist, however, Heriot falls lamentably short.

A number of books on the West Indies showed the public interest in the burning question of the slave trade. James Hakewill (1778-1843), originally an architect, produced some fine aquatints of Jamaica, as did William Clark of Antigua; the plates in Johnson Fielding's *Views in the West Indies* are poor, but the book contains an interesting and impartial discussion of the slave question.

South America inspired a larger number of writers. The *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824) and *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* (1824) of Maria Graham, Lady Callcott, have been already referred to; the latter country also supplied Koster and Mathison with literary material. The southern republics were described in several books, while in polar regions English explorers were making voyages of discovery, the accounts of which are still classics. In 1819 Captain Ross published his *Voyage of Discovery to Baffin's Bay*, Franklin his *Journals of Two Voyages for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* in 1821, and Parry his *Journey to the Shores of the*

Polar Seas in 1823; all three works were illustrated in aquatint.

Perhaps the most interesting of the books dealing with America is the *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico* (1824), of William Bullock, a traveller and naturalist who, while in business as a goldsmith and jeweller at Liverpool, showed his interest in foreign travel by making a collection of objects brought by Captain Cook from the South Seas. In 1812 he came to London and established it, much enlarged from his own antiquarian researches, in the Egyptian Hall, then just built and known as the London Museum. It became one of the most popular exhibitions in London until its dispersal by auction in 1819, and was recognised by men of science also, a sea eagle being presented by Sir Joseph Banks to Mr Bullock's Museum, 22 Piccadilly.[1] In 1822, as we learn from two large aquatints by Rowlandson now in the Print Room of the British Museum, he held an exhibition of Laplanders which appears to have been very popular, and in the same year he went to Mexico, where he was aided in his researches by the Mexican Government, and returned to England laden with valuable curiosities. He then opened a third exhibition in the Egyptian Hall called 'Modern Mexico,' very much of the type to which we are accustomed to-day, but a great novelty at the time, with models of the scenery and specimens of the arts and industries, minerals and natural history of the country. In 1824 he published his book on Mexico, illustrated chiefly from his own drawings; went to Mexico again in 1827, and returned through the

[1] *Times*, March 26, 1810.

States in the same year, a journey that gave him the materials for his second book, a *Sketch of a Journey through the Western States of North America*, not illustrated in aquatint and therefore foreign to our purpose.

One other book on America calls for mention here, the *Mexico in 1827* of H. G. Ward, chargé d'affaires in that country from 1825-7. Vol. i. has thirteen aquatints by J. Clark, and two lithographs; vol. ii., five aquatints and one lithograph, all after drawings by Mrs Ward. The presence of lithograph in conjunction with aquatint gives an excellent opportunity for showing the superiority of aquatint as a basis for hand colour work.

This brief account of the English books of travel illustrated by a single process may give some idea of the extent of the whole literature of the subject during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. Its effect has been lasting, breaking down, once and for all, the insularity of England and lessening her national isolation. The growth of the cosmopolitan spirit was checked, not destroyed by the outbreak of the French Revolution; the effects of social intercourse proved stronger than political hatred; literature prevailed over caricature. Frenchmen ceased to live on frogs, Englishmen to sell their wives, and the change was largely due to the silent influence of illustrated books, which reflected fact instead of fiction, and showed as in a glass the life and manners of other nations.

CHAPTER X

ENGLISH TOPOGRAPHY

ALTHOUGH as early as 1739 Gray had in one famous sentence on the Grande Chartreuse[1] discovered and described the picturesque, in the matter of English topography no student can afford to disregard the 'picturesque' literature of William Gilpin (1724-1804), poor as the aquatint illustrations in them mostly are. The son of an army captain and elder brother of Sawrey Gilpin, the animal painter, he began and ended his career in the Church, though for some years after 1754 he kept a school at Cheam, which he managed on principles much in advance of his time. It was during the summer vacations of this period that he made the sketching tours which, in their published form, constitute his real title to fame, though afterwards severely satirised by Combe in *Dr Syntax*. He had already made a beginning in literature by his *Life of Bernard Gilpin* (1753), which he wrote to pay off his debts at the University, but in the later books, many of which ran into five editions, he may be said to have invented the art of picturesque travel and to have shown the landscape painter how to look at Nature. His attitude towards her was, it is true, of a self-conscious character, but, although his reflections

[1] "Not a precipice, not a torrent, not a cliff, but is pregnant with religion and poetry." (Letter to Richard West, November 30th, 1739.)

are often too ingenious, he was her real and tranquil lover, and his books are more free from false philosophy than similar writings of the time. A talent for drawing seems to have been in the family; his father was a good draughtsman, his brother Sawrey a very fine animal painter, especially of horses, and his own pencil was as facile as his pen.

We are sometimes inclined to think that the making of many books is a special characteristic of our own time, but it sinks into insignificance by comparison with the age that produced Gilpin, Combe, and Pyne. The first, indeed, was a most miscellaneous writer, producing many works of a religious and educational character, as well as a series of biographies of divines. But it is by his works on picturesque beauty that he is now best remembered, perhaps also by an *Essay on Prints*, the fifth edition of which appeared in 1802. His brother Sawrey etched a set of drawings for his *Remarks on Forest Scenery;* the rest of his works, except the *Essay*, are illustrated with aquatint engravings, poor in character and washed over with a brown or yellow tone which gives them a faded and sickly appearance.[1] The popularity of the picturesque tours spread to France and Germany, and some of them were brought out at Breslau in 1800 with aquatints superior to those in the originals.

In 1777 Gilpin was presented to the Vicarage of Boldre in the New Forest, where he spent the remainder of his life in the zealous discharge of his duties as parish priest. As his health declined he had the assistance of a

[1] See Chapter II., p. 31. In Appendix A Gilpin's plates are described as 'tinted,' that being the contemporary name applied to them, and they cannot be classed, strictly speaking, among the plain or coloured.

curate, Richard Warner, himself the author of a *Tour*, in whose *Literary Recollections* there is a pleasant account of this part of Gilpin's life. In 1798 he sold his original drawings, and with the £1200 so obtained endowed the school he had built at Boldre. A further sale after his death realised £1600, and this, together with the proceeds of all his unpublished works, was vested in trustees according to his directions for the benefit of the school.

It is difficult for this generation to grasp the full importance to his contemporaries of Gilpin's æsthetic gospel. The crudity of his work, more obvious than its originality, is apt to suggest a sham enthusiasm expressed in the medium of inferior art, but some of the credit usually assigned to the *Lyrical Ballads* should in truth be given to the man who, when Wordsworth was a boy of twelve, had by precept and example begun a return to nature in a truer sense than Rousseau's. How it affected his contemporaries may be seen from the *Diary* of Fanny Burney. In 1786, just after receiving her appointment at Court, Fanny Burney wrote of "the most pleasant hour of the day," her breakfast time, "I have a book for my companion, and I allow myself an hour for it. My present book is Gilpin's description of the *Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland.* Mrs Delany has lent it me. It is the most picturesque reading I ever met with: it shows me landscapes of every sort, with tints so bright and lively, I forget I am but reading, and fancy I see them before me, coloured by the hand of Nature." For those who had ears to hear, Gilpin was indeed the herald, not of Wordsworth only, but of Ruskin.

We have now to turn to an important group of engravers whose efforts were directed to the scenery and architecture of their own country, and in whose hands the practice of aquatint engraving reached its highest level. Thomas Malton, an architectural draughtsman, published in 1792 *A Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster*, which is one of the earliest books on London illustrated in aquatint. His father, Thomas Malton senior, (1726-1801), is said to have kept an upholsterer's shop in the Strand, but it can only have been as an adjunct to his career as an artist, for he is known to have exhibited architectural drawings at the Free Society of Artists in 1761, the Incorporated Society of Artists in 1766 and 1768, and from 1772 onwards at the Royal Academy. He was also a teacher of geometry and perspective, and published a treatise on that subject in which the diagrams are aquatinted. Owing apparently to pecuniary troubles, he emigrated to Dublin, where he obtained further distinction as a lecturer, and where he died in 1801. He son Thomas (1784-1804) was apprenticed to Gandon the architect, who had designed many of the chief buildings in Dublin, but after three years in his office seems to have been dismissed for some irregularity. The younger Malton's talents were limited in scope, and though he made some attempts in landscape work, it is as a draughtsman of streets and cities that he made his mark. His drawings are in the tinted manner of his time, and were most appropriately rendered in aquatint.

The groups of figures often introduced in Malton's street views are said to have been in part the work of

Francis Wheatley, an artist of great versatility. He practised both as an oil and water-colour painter, and drew figures as well as landscape, and had once performed a similar office for Sandby, but while the figures in Sandby's work are full of life and arrest the eye, those in Malton's streets are formal and conventional in movement, and little calculated to detract from the importance of the architectual subject. Malton was employed as a scene painter at Covent Garden; as early as 1774 he had received a premium from the Society of Arts, while in 1783 the Academy awarded him the gold medal for a design for a theatre. From 1783-89 he lived in Conduit Street, and at the evening drawing class held there received as pupils Girtin and J. M. W. Turner, then a lad brought by his father to study perspective; in after life Turner would often say, "My real master was Tom Malton." A brief residence at Bath in 1780 led to the production of some large aquatints of that city, Malton being one of the earliest artists to make use of this process. In 1792 was published his most important work, *A Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster*, with a hundred aquatint plates. These are in sepia, but a later work, *Picturesque Views of the City of Oxford*, has twenty-four delicately coloured plates.

James Malton, a brother of Thomas, who died in 1803, went with his father to Ireland, and like him became a professor of geometry and perspective. He produced some fine tinted architectural drawings, and has been already alluded to as having contributed two books to the demand for works on cottage architecture, as well as one of the earliest drawing-books. His best

TRINITY COLLEGE.

From *A Picturesque View of the City of Dublin* (1794-5) by James Malton.

illustrated work, however, is *Picturesque and Descriptive Views of the City of Dublin*, which appeared shortly after his brother's *Views of London.*

The defect of these early draughtsmen was a want of imaginative atmosphere; the difference between their work and that of later artists is something of the difference between an architectural elevation and the same building suffused with the poetry of the past as it presents itself to the inner as well as the outer eye. At the same time there is a luminousness about the low key of colour that they used, with its foundation of grey tint, that is absent from much of the later work in which brighter colours were used direct upon white paper.

Besides the Maltons and Daniells, another family, that of the Havells, was likewise associated with the engraving of aquatint at its best. William Havell, the father of six daughters and eight sons, many of whom took to art as a profession, was a drawing-master at Reading, who had to supplement an insufficient income by keeping a small shop. The somewhat vague and complicated relationship of the different members of the family is difficult to disentangle. The most distinguished was the third son, William, a landscape painter of great charm, whose drawings lose nothing by comparison with more modern work on the same lines. He devoted much of his time first to Welsh scenery afterwards to that of the Lakes. Contemporary criticism thus appraises his work:—"Havell however was not contented with an occasional trip from London, to snatch a new hint, by hasty sketching from real scenes, to work into pictures at his return, as many had

done: he wisely determined to remove to some picturesque spot, where he might sojourn awhile, and at leisure contemplate nature under the changes of each season, and attired in all the varieties of her rich wardrobe. He selected the beautiful region of the Lakes in Cumberland, and took up his quarters in a little town in the very bosom of romantic nature, surrounded by mountains, rocks, woods and waterfalls, where the incidents of sun and cloud, where gilded morning mists and sober evening shades, are exhibited in all the combinations of pictoral and poetic effect, such as the imagination might vainly attempt to conceive. Here he studied for two years, when he returned to London with rich stores of lake and mountain scenery, from which, for several reasons, he enriched the exhibition, added to his own fame, and contributed to raise the general reputation of his department of art. We remember among these Cumberland views, some which were remarkable for depth and harmony of effect, and nearer to reality than the compositions of any of his compeers. Indeed, richness and intensity of colouring in some of his happiest works, suffered but little in comparison with paintings in oil; a consequence that resulted from his continual practice of painting his effects on the spot."[1] He executed all the drawings for *A Series of Picturesque Views of the River Thames*, and six of those for *Picturesque Views of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats.*

In 1816 William was attached as 'Artist' to Lord Amherst's embassy to China: but he seems to have left the *Alceste* on account of some disagreement with

[1] *Somerset House Gazette*, i. 193.

AN ISLAND ON THE THAMES NEAR PARK PLACE, OXFORDSHIRE.
From *A Series of Picturesque Views of the River Thames* (1823) by W. Havell.

one of the officers, and the narrative of the voyage by Dr John M'Leod, the ship's surgeon, is not illustrated from his work. In the other account of the same mission by Dr Clarke Abel, entitled *Narrative of a Journey in the Interior of China*, one of the coloured aquatints by T. Fielding is "drawn from a sketch by W. Havell, Esq." He is hardly mentioned in connection with the mission, and on his return from China went to India, where he settled for some years in Burmah, only leaving the country on the outbreak of the Burmese War. There is a pleasant account of him, not however free from errors, in Redgrave's *Century of Painters*, and an even more attractive one in the *Memoir of T. Uwins*, in which that genial artist, whom he joined in Italy on his way home, gives generous criticisms of the special quality of Havell's art.

But the engravers of the family were Daniel and his son Robert, who inaugurated the long series of independent Havell publications in 1810 by aquatinting the plates to the *Views of the Thames*, after William's drawings. Father and son worked jointly for some time, but at one time Robert set up for himself in Oxford Street, opposite the Pantheon, in a 'Zoological Gallery,' where he and his son Robert sold natural-history specimens and published various books until the year 1828, when the partnership was dissolved, and the younger Robert went to America.

Both the *Views of the Thames* and the *Views of Noblemen's Seats* are very fine books, especially the former, in which perhaps Havell reaches the highest watermark of his attainment as an aquatint engraver.

Daniel Havell's most important separate work was done for Brayley's *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Theatres of London* (1826). The date of his death, like that of his birth, is unknown.

The most important art publishers and dealers in our history are the two Boydells, John and his nephew Josiah, who, though their munificence was chiefly directed towards painters and line engravers, also issued a few fine books with coloured aquatint plates, notably the *History of the River Thames.* John Boydell (1719-1804) was the son of a land-surveyor in Shropshire, and brought up to follow his father's profession, which, at the age of about twenty-one, he abandoned for art. He walked to London, became a student in the famous Academy in St Martin's Lane, and apprenticed himself to W. H. Toms, the engraver. He soon began to publish small landscapes on his own account, and for want of proper printsellers, exhibited them in the windows of toy shops. They were sold at six for sixpence, and the earliest known date on them is 1744. He continued practising as an engraver till 1755, extending his activities to different parts of England and Wales. He says himself in the Preface to his collection of views, republished in 1790, that in the early days of his apprenticeship there were no engravers of any eminence in this country. In ten years from the date on his first print, Boydell had by his industry laid the foundations of his fortune, and was able to set up as a printseller. "He was a lucky wight to take to print-selling," says a writer in the *Somerset House Gazette*, "and to quit the profession of

art—and it was no less fortunate for artists and the arts, that he was so indifferent a performer—that he who had not genius enough to make a sixth-rate engraver, had wit enough to fill the civic chair!"[1]

The first work of great importance produced by him was Woollett's engraving, after Wilson's *Niobe* (1761), for which he paid the engraver £100, and to which the beginning of the vogue of English engravings on the Continent is largely due. Before Boydell's time prints had been chiefly imported from abroad, but in 1787 when he went to Paris he found his own prints in the shop-windows. The *Death of General Wolfe*, by Woollett after West, was even more successful, and was followed by many others. In 1782, Boydell was elected alderman; three years later he served as sheriff; and in 1790 was Lord Mayor. In 1786 he embarked on the great enterprise of his life, the *Shakespeare Gallery*, for which a total of one hundred and seventy works, three of them in sculpture, was eventually reached. A gallery was built for their reception in Pall Mall, and the "thrice-munificent old commercialist"[1] became the one great instance in modern life of the creation of a nation's art, the honour paid to English engraving on the Continent being due to the exertions and the patronage of one man. The engravings from the *Gallery* were published in 1802, but disaster was at hand. The French Revolution having put an end to his foreign trade, Boydell was in such financial difficulties that in 1804 he applied to Parliament for leave to dispose of his property by lottery. In the letter read before the House of

[1] *Somerset House Gazette*, ii. p. 360.

Commons he states that he "had laid out in promoting the commerce of the fine arts in this country, above £350,000." Permission was granted, and all the tickets were sold, which enabled him to pay his debts, but he died before the lottery was drawn. But for his financial troubles, he would have bequeathed the *Shakespeare Gallery* to the nation.

He issued in all 4432 plates, which were published in forty-eight folio volumes, twenty-six of which were occupied with the English School, fourteen with the Italian, six with the Dutch and Flemish, and two with the French School.

Boydell published but few coloured books, of which the two earliest are undoubtedly the best. Repton's *Sketches and Hints of Landscape Gardening* appeared in 1794, as did also the *History of the River Thames*, with text by W. Combe. It was issued at £10, 10s., and the seventy-six plates are all by J. C. Stadler after J. Farington, R.A. In 1808 he published *Views in the South Seas*, with sixteen plates drawn and engraved by J. Webber, R.A., draughtsman to Captain James Cook's expedition on the *Resolution*, the original drawings for which are preserved at the Admiralty. In 1820 appeared Boydell's *Picturesque Scenery of Norway*, a disappointing book of which the artist and engraver was J. W. Edy.

The scenery of the river Thames afforded material for several books, all very attractive in their different ways. Perhaps the finest is the *Picturesque Tour of the River Thames*, published by Ackermann, the joint-production of W. Westall, who executed nineteen plates,

GRAVESEND.

From *A Picturesque Tour of the River Thames* (1828) by W. Westall and S. Owen.

and S. Owen, who is responsible for two vignettes and five plates, showing the open part of the Thames from Southwark to Sheerness. Like so many of Ackermann's publications the book appeared in instalments, and was completed in six monthly parts. Owen's acquaintance with the river was an intimate one, for he had already provided the drawings for W. B. Cooke's book on *The Thames*, published in 1811, with 83 plates executed in line. Fifteen of the engravings are by R. G. Reeve, the rest being by C. Bentley, J. Bailey, and J. Fielding. Two tints are used for the printing, notably a bright blue for the sky, and the aquatint ground is throughout rather thin, with the result that the coloured impressions are wanting in depth. The vignettes, however, are very beautiful, and show how especially suitable aquatint is for the purpose, rarely as it is used; the student will in this connection remember Geissler's vignettes to Pallas' *Travels* and their singular charm. The process of laying the aquatint ground enables the artist to produce delicate gradations of tone, attaining the greatest strength where necessary and fading as gradually away. Other excellent examples of aquatint vignettes may be seen in the books illustrated by J. C. Nattes.

The Preface to the *Picturesque Tour of the River Thames* contains an interesting allusion to Boydell's work on the same subject:—"To the *History of the Thames*, written by the late William Combe, Esq., and published by Messrs Boydell, the author acknowledges particular obligations, but while he attests the copiousness and accuracy of the historical and descriptive details,

he cannot refrain from observing, that a comparison of the coloured engravings in that work—splendid as it professed to be—with those contained in this volume, will furnish striking evidence of the extraordinary improvements made during the last thirty years in the getting up, as it is called, of this kind of graphic embellishments."

One of the results of the fashion for Panoramas, Dioramas, and the like mechanical modes of procuring optical illusion was the attempt to reproduce them pictorially, several well-known artists devoting their ingenuity to this purpose. Perhaps one of the most curious, certainly the most ambitious, is a *Panorama of the Thames*, showing both the banks with the bridges, buildings, county seats, villages, all named, executed by J. Clark about 1820, a coloured aquatint 8 inches deep by 65 feet long. It was issued in a folding case, with a *Description of the most Remarkable Places.* Another was engraved by .T. Sutherland for Thomas Shew in 1825, and is entitled *A Panoramic View of the City of Rome and the adjoining Country.* How this was issued does not appear, but it was contained in an ingeniously contrived box mounted on a roller, so that it worked through a slit in the box, the top of which had a kind of pocket for the letterpress. It does not appear to have been published coloured.

Samuel Ireland (17 ?-1800) was one of the most successful artists who devoted himself to the career of topographic print-making. In the ten years between 1790 and 1800 he brought out six books of views, con-

taining in all some two hundred and eighty plates, all aquatinted by himself after his own drawings. Originally a Spitalfields weaver, he began his artistic career as a copier of prints and a dealer in them, and in 1760 gained a medal from the Society of Arts. In 1782-84, he exhibited five pictures at the Royal Academy, and became gradually known as an ardent collector of books, pictures, and curiosities. The success of his first book, *A Picturesque Tour through Holland, Brabant, and part of France* (1790) encouraged him to other work of the sort, and in 1792 and 1793 appeared two other books, *Picturesque Views on the Rivers Thames and Medway*, and later again on the *Avon* (1795) and *Wye* (1797) and (posthumously) the *Severn* (1824). In 1794 appeared his *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth*, consisting of unpublished prints and drawings in his own collection, with text and reproductions by himself, in a great variety of processes, including a number of fine aquatints, a book of great value and interest, of which a second volume appeared in 1799. At the close of his life he produced two angry pamphlets on the question of the Ireland forgeries, the work of his son William Henry Ireland, and an *Historical Account of the Inns of Court* appeared just after his death.

John Hassell (d. 1825), who was mentioned in the chapter on drawing-books, was like Ireland a successful maker of illustrated guide-books. The first of these was the *Tour of the Isle of Wight* (1790), with very poor plates of the tinted oval kind like those employed by Gilpin. The next was the *Picturesque Guide to Bath* (1793), with sixteen coloured aquatints engraved like the

last by himself, fourteen being from his own drawings, one after J. Laporte and one after J. C. Ibbetson, who also inserted the figures in eight of Hassell's drawings. In 1817 he published *Picturesque Rides and Walks . . . round the British Metropolis*, illustrated with one hundred and twenty small views of great charm and delicacy. The sixty plates in vol. i. are all drawn and engraved by Hassell, those in vol. ii. are mostly engraved by D. Havell after Hassell's drawings. The *Tour of the Grand Junction* (1819) has still better plates, though their colouring is somewhat crude. This is a book of considerable interest now that canals are no longer what they once were, the highways both of commerce and pleasure. Hassell's last published work, *Excursions of Pleasure and Sports on the Thames*, was published in 1823. He had a large private practice as drawing master, and was an intimate friend of George Morland, whose *Conway Castle* he engraved in aquatint. A posthumous treatise on the *Art of Etching*, illustrated by himself, appeared in 1836.

Though William Westall (1781-1850) did a great deal of work for Ackermann, and might, therefore, be fitly included among his chief draughtsmen, the output of work in his own name is still larger and entitles him more fitly to notice among the illustrators of books on English scenery. He was the younger brother of Richard Westall, R.A., from whom he learned drawing, and afterwards became a student in the Academy schools. While there, and at the age of nineteen, he was selected to accompany Captain Flinders on his voyage of Australian discovery, taking the place of

William Daniell, who had been appointed landscape draughtsman, but who threw up the engagement on becoming engaged to Westall's sister.

After a cruise of nearly two years the expedition was wrecked at the outset of the return voyage, but Westall's drawings were saved, and the shipwrecked party were picked up, after eight weeks on a coral reef, by schooners sent by Captain Flinders, who had escaped in an open boat to Port Jackson. Westall was taken on to China, where he made many sketches of the country. While sailing thence to Bombay he witnessed a naval engagement in the Straits of Malacca, and during his stay in India, he made careful drawings of the cave-temples of Kurlee and Elephanta. He returned to England in 1805, left again in a few months for Madeira, and eventually reached Jamaica. On his return to England he was at once employed by several publishers to illustrate their work, in particular by Ackermann, then engaged on his *History of the Universities* and of the *Public Schools*. In 1811, Westall paid his first visit to the Lake Country, and was so taken with its beauty that from that year to 1820 he spent a part of every winter there. He became acquainted with Southey and Wordsworth, and it will be seen from the books under his name that his chief illustrated work was done in connection with that country. His pictures, publicly exhibited, amounted to one hundred and forty-five, and with the plates to his various volumes prove him to have been a prolific draughtsman. He was, as a rule, his own engraver, and some of his plates, notably those in *Views of Caves*, are interesting examples of a mixed process.

In some aquatint is used on the top of etching, and in others the sky alone is aquatinted.

Some of the finest aquatint plates in existence are those done from the drawings of John Claude Nattes, and always catalogued under his name. Nattes, born in England about 1765, was a topographical draughtsman who travelled and made sketches for illustrated works. He was one of the foundation members of the Water Colour Society, but in 1807 a serious charge was brought against him to the effect that a great part of the work sent in by him was not by his own hand, and he left the Society in disgrace. Besides the *Views of Bath* and those of *Versailles*, *Paris*, *St Denis*, both of which are well known as fine and attractive books, there is a very rare work entitled *Oxford Delineated; a Graphic and Descriptive Tour of the University of Oxford*, published by J. Cundee, of which only two parts appeared, though twenty-five were advertised. There is a beautiful vignette on the title, and another as tailpiece, to Part I., besides two plates, all aquatinted by Merigot, while Part II. has one plate by F. C. Lewis after Pugin. Had it been completed it must have ranked among the finest of publications with coloured plates, and it is somewhat strange that it was not proceeded with, since the other books by him appeared in the two following years.

The two books by J. T. Serres (1759-1825) are interesting, though they cannot be grouped under any special class. The elder son of Dominic Serres, the marine painter and intimate friend and neighbour of Paul Sandby, he took to his father's profession and was, for a time, drawing-master to a marine school at Chelsea.

In 1793 he succeeded his father as marine painter to the king, and was also appointed draughtsman to the Admiralty, being employed in making sketches of the harbours on the enemy's coast, for which he had a vessel placed at his service and £100 a month. His two books are the outcome of work undertaken in this capacity: the *Little Sea Torch* being a guide for coasting ships, and the *Liber Nauticus* an instructor in the art of marine drawing. He contributed regularly to the exhibitions of the Royal Academy till 1808. An unenviable title to fame was his marriage, against the wishes of his friends, with Miss Olive Wilmot, to whom he had given drawing lessons. She was the daughter of a house painter at Warwick, but a born adventuress, calling herself the Princess Olive of Cumberland, and making out that she was the daughter of Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, brother of George III. She practically ruined her husband by her intrigues and her extravagance, and though a separation took place in 1804 and he repudiated her pretensions, he lost the patronage of the king, was imprisoned for debt, and finally died within the rules of the King's Bench prison.

Ackermann wrote the short Preface introducing *A Picturesque Tour of the English Lakes: illustrated with* 48 *Coloured Views drawn by Messrs T. H. A. Fielding and J. Walton during a Two Years' Residence among the Lakes* (1821). It is a fine book, but the plates are somewhat heavily tinted, a practice that characterises most of Fielding's aquatint work and detracts from the transparency otherwise transmitted by the aquatint ground. A similar criticism must be passed on

his *British Castles* and *River Wye*. There is a great deal of difference in hand colouring in this respect, and the 'washers' probably followed the pattern given by the artist. Theodore Henry Adolphus Fielding (1781-1851) was the eldest son of Nathan Theodore Fielding and brother of Antony Vandyke Copley, Thales, and Newton Smith Fielding, and like them a water-colour painter, as well as an engraver of note. As early as 1799, a picture of his was exhibited at the Royal Academy. Being appointed teacher of Drawing and Perspective at the East India Company's Military College, Addiscombe, he resided in that neighbourhood until his death in 1851. His most important publication was *Excursion sur les Côtes et dans les Ports de Normande*, with forty plates after Bonington, which have not the above-named defect of over-colouring. He also wrote works on painting, perspective, the principles on which to judge the works of the Old Masters, and the method of engraving.

If interest in the notes of English travellers abroad is considerable, the remarks of foreigners on England are even more entertaining, and a very amusing picture of ourselves and our manners and customs may be found in the *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the years 1810 and 1811, by a French Traveller*, L. Simond. He tells us in the Notice that the Journal was originally written in English, though, at the same time, fully prepared for publication in France, and as it could not be printed on the Continent at that time, it was decided to give it as it was written. The date of its publication is 1815, and the Note ends thus:—"Such wonderful changes have taken place since this journal

was written, that a considerable part of the views and opinions it records are now completely out of date. Yet an account of things as they were at the zenith of that power which had enslaved the world, may still possess some interest and serve to shew what resources, and how much life and strength remained in that insulated corner of Europe, to which the Conqueror was seeking a ford, from the shores of the Baltic to those of Spain and Portugal." Simond, though born in France, had lived over twenty years in America; hence his knowledge of our language. He was encouraged to publish the memoirs of his journey, originally sent in letters to his friends in America, by the consideration that no French travels in England deserving of notice had come to his knowledge. A good deal of the book is taken up with Scotland, but perhaps the most amusing part is that concerned with London and its institutions.

Simond had married an English wife "to whose introduction he owed," he says, "a greater share of domestic intimacy than foreigners usually enjoy in England or indeed in any country." He had the knack of easy writing, and his digressions on the more serious topics of the constitution, commerce, finances and politics of the county are full of interest even at the present day. The illustrations, after the sickly manner of those in Gilpin's works, are very poor and appear to be from the author's drawings, being signed *L. S. del.* in one corner, *J. Clark dira* in the other.

The interest in Wales, from the point of view of the tourist a newly discovered country, showed itself in the production of numerous illustrated books. It was the

most popular sketching ground of many of the earlier water-colour artists, taking precedence even of the Lakes, and some among them, notably Varley, did the major part of their work in that country. The earliest book on our list is by a Welshman, Peter Roberts, rector of Llanarmon, and vicar of Madeley, who was an ardent student of its history and traditions. The *Cambrian Popular Antiquities* (1815), an account of the traditions, customs, and superstitions of Wales, is illustrated by nine plates by J. Havell. Roberts published many other works on various subjects of antiquarian research, but the *Cambrian Popular Antiquities* is his most important contribution to literature.

The best, however, of all the books on Wales is the *Cambria Depicta* (1806) of Edward Pugh, the drawings for which took ten years to complete. In the preface the author speaks of the multiplication of illustrations of the same scenes owing to the fact that most travellers, being ignorant of the language of the country, never left the frequented routes, and he claims that his drawings are all new to the public. "The many volumes published under the appellation of 'Tours through North Wales' have invariably been found defective in their description of the people, their manners and customs: nor is this deficiency surprising, when we recollect that these descriptions have generally been undertaken by complete strangers to those people, their manners and customs, and who therefore could not possibly avoid numerous inaccuracies. The confined route which they prescribed to themselves, seldom quitting the repeatedly beaten track, is another pregnant cause of their inadequacy. . . .

St Michael's Mount, Cornwall.

From W. Daniell's *Voyage round Great Britain* (1814-25).

In my choice of views I have abandoned the common practice of giving portraits of towns, castles, etc., which have been so often repeated that they now fill every portfolio." The drawings are stated on the title-page to be by 'a native artist,' and there is no other indication of painter or engraver. The book is a fine one, but the views, pleasant and careful as they are, lack originality of treatment.

But the classic of aquatint engraving applied to English scenery is probably *A Voyage round Great Britain . . . by Richard Ayton, with a series of views . . . drawn and engraved by William Daniell, A.R.A.*, which appeared in eight volumes between 1814 and 1825, with three hundred and eight plates, all drawn and engraved by William Daniell. Such a succession of beautiful colour plates is scarcely to be found elsewhere, and they are unsurpassed both in delicacy of drawing and tinting. The voyage, starting from the Land's End and continuing by the north coast of Cornwall, was made partly by sea and partly by land, the original intention to travel principally by sea not being found practicable on account of the dangerous nature of the coast. The Introduction states that "While the inland counties of England had been so hackneyed by travellers and quartos, the coast has hitherto been most unaccountably neglected, and if we except a few fashionable watering-places, is entirely unknown to the public. . . . But many, who would not venture in pursuit of amusement out of the latitude of good inns and level roads, to make paths for themselves over rocks and crags, may still be pleased to become acquainted at a cheaper rate, with the character of their

own shores, where most conspicuous for boldness and picturesque beauty. It is the design, therefore, of the following voyage, minutely to describe the whole coast round Great Britain; not merely to give plans and outlines of its well-known towns, ports, and havens, but to illustrate the grandeur of its natural scenery, the manners and employment of people, and modes of life in its wildest parts." The third volume has a Preface addressed to Sir Walter Scott, in which Daniell acknowledges the introductions and facilities given him. "The many acts of kindness and hospitality which cheered my voyage along the western coast and isles of Scotland, greatly facilitated the attainment of its objects, and almost converted it into an excursion of pleasure." One would fain know who was the colourist of these beautiful plates, whose predominant lines are greys, greens, and blues—a most unusual colour scheme—with scarcely any addition of warmer tints. The plates, and they are numerous, in which sea-birds circle about the rugged cliffs, are especially fine, and the Cornish and Devonshire scenes most characteristic; but it is impossible to make any individual selections from such a treasure-house of beauty. As an instance of the poetry with which Daniell invested all his treatment of nature, we may point to the plate of Ramsgate, which those who know the place as it now is may well wish they could ever keep in mind.

CHAPTER XI

SPORT AND NATURAL HISTORY

THE section of books on Sport illustrated in aquatint is a small one, and if we except those by Alken, centres chiefly round the names of Samuel Howitt and Charles Turner.

Orme's *Collection of British Field Sports, illustrated in Twenty beautifully coloured engravings from designs by S. Howitt*, published without text in 1807, is an important work. The plates are very fine sporting subjects, in which however Howitt seems to have succeeded better with hounds and game than with horses; line and stipple are occasionally mixed with the aquatint. The name of H. Merke, possibly the engraver responsible for the aquatinting, appears on all of them; associated with him are T. Vivares, J. Godby, J. Clark, and W. M. Craig. The frontispiece is a most graceful design of buds, fruit, and flowers, with twenty small oval aquatints depicting various sports, in the centre of which is the title, the larger part of it also rendered in aquatint.

The *Oriental Field Sports* published in the same year, and issued in twelve monthly parts at a guinea each, is one of the finest sporting books ever put together. Of the forty coloured aquatints all, except two by J. Havell, are by H. Merke; there is also a soft ground etching by Vivares. Every plate is accompanied by

letterpress describing the sport and the customs that belong to it, with descriptions of the country where it takes place; but the character of the book is really best set forth in the title-page: *Oriental Field Sports, being a complete detailed and accurate description of the Wild Sports of the East, and exhibiting in a novel and interesting manner the Natural History of the elephant, the rhinoceros, the tiger, the leopard, the bear, the deer, the buffalo, the wolf, the wild hog, the jackall, the wild dog, the civet, and other undomesticated animals; as likewise the different species of feathered game, fishes and serpents. The whole interspersed with a variety of original, authentic and curious anecdotes, which render the work replete with information and amusement. The scenery gives a faithful representation of that picturesque country, together with the manners and customs of both the native and European inhabitants. The narrative is divided into forty heads, forming collectively a complete work, but so arranged that each part is a detail of one of the forty coloured engravings with which the publication is embellished. The whole taken from the manuscript and designs of Captain Thomas Williamson, who served upwards of twenty years in Bengal. The Drawings by Samuel Howitt, made uniform in size and engraved by the first artists, under the direction of Edward Orme.*

The Preface declares that "it is not merely to the sportsman that this work is addressed. It is offered to the Public as depicting the Manners, Customs, Scenery and Costume of a territory, now intimately blended with the British Empire, and of such importance to its welfare, as to annex a certain degree of consequence to

A Tiger springing on an Elephant.
From Orme's *Foreign Field Sports* (1813-4).

every publication, that either exhibits, or professes to impart a knowledge of whatever may hitherto have been concealed or that remains unfolded to our view."

Howitt also did many of the plates for the same publisher's *Foreign Field Sports, Fisheries, Sporting Anecdotes, etc., etc., from drawings by Messrs Howitt, Atkinson, Clark, Manskirch, etc.* (1807). No better or more exciting boy's book can be imagined. It contains one hundred plates with a supplement devoted to New South Wales, the drawing of the natives in the latter being exceedingly spirited; the plates are in pure aquatint. Williamson, who wrote the text, does not appear among the artists, M. Dubourg engraving most of the plates, with Howitt, Merke and Clark as his coadjutors. On some of the plates there is again a mixture of line and stipple; Howitt, in fact, seems rarely to have relied upon aquatint alone in his illustrations.

Samuel Howitt (1765?-1822) was a country gentleman and a practical sportsman, obliged by financial difficulties to take up art as a profession. His early work consisted of drawings in the stained manner, but he became a painter both in oil and water-colours as well as an engraver, usually choosing his subjects from sport or natural history. He married Rowlandson's sister, and did some work in the manner of Rowlandson, especially in caricature.

Charles Turner (1773-1857), one of the greatest of our mezzotint engravers, was the son of a collector of excise at Woodstock, he came to London in 1795, where his earliest work was done for Boydell. When in financial difficulties owing to his father's

temporary loss of some valuable MSS., his mother obtained from the Duchess of Marlborough, in whose employment she had once been, a residence at Blenheim, with the charge of the china closet. It was in these surroundings that young Turner's love of art was fostered, and the picture-gallery of Blenheim Palace no doubt developed the instinct for portraiture that was to be the mainspring of his subsequent efforts, for of the six hundred plates engraved by him, two-thirds are portraits. He contributed some fine prints to the literature of sport, notably a set named *The Poacher's Progress*, published in colours in 1826 at £4, 12s. The British Museum possesses a complete collection of his works, as well as his drawing and work-book from 1798 to 1804, presented by his granddaughter. From this we see that he did a great deal of miscellaneous engraving, working alike for publishers and on other people's plates. In this record too, there are many allusions to the prints that he made for Edward Orme's *Essay on Transparent Prints* (1807), a book dealing with a special method of using varnishes in order to render transparent the paper employed for coloured prints on glass. This curious fashion of transparencies or glass paintings arose at the end of the seventeenth century, and was much in vogue for windows, screens, and the like. They were produced by laying specially tinted impressions on glass and rubbing away the paper behind, leaving just enough film to enable the colouring to be put on by hand.

When the *Liber Studiorum* was first projected, J. M. W. Turner entrusted the first twenty numbers to his namesake, but a quarrel led to a separation, though

Charles later executed three more plates, as well as five in the *Rivers of England*, becoming one of the painter's closest friends, and a trustee under his will.

Turner practised all forms of engraving in the course of his most laborious life, mezzotint, etching, stipple, and aquatint. Among engravers in mezzotint, he stands alone in his use of aquatint to enhance its transparency. The large plate of *The Shipwreck* ($23\frac{1}{4} \times 32$), after J. M. W. Turner, illustrates the blending of these two methods. It was the first of Turner's engravings to be made from an oil painting, and he bargained that he was to colour all the impressions. The subject was aquatinted by Theodore Fielding in 1823, but in a smaller size ($16\frac{1}{8} \times 22\frac{1}{4}$). Another instance of Turner's use of aquatint in combination with mezzotint is seen in his illustrations to William Haygarth's *Greece, a Poem* (1814), in which, in addition to the mezzotint, there is occasionally some aquatint over a foundation of strong etching.

Among the earliest genuine sporting books are those of Thomas Thornton (1757-1823), the son of William Thornton of Thornville-Royal in Yorkshire, who raised and commanded a troop of volunteers which marched against the Young Pretender, and was colonel of the West Riding Militia, besides being member for York. Thomas was a most ardent sportsman, and to him is due the revival of falconry. He was also made colonel of his father's old regiment, but resigned in 1795. In 1786 he made his first sporting tour, going partly by sea and partly by land to the Northern Highlands, where he spent his time in hunting, shooting, angling, and hawking. The record of this expedition, entitled *A Sporting Tour*

through the Northern Parts of England and Great Part of the Highlands of Scotland, appeared in 1804, and was finely illustrated with line engravings. In 1802 he revisited France, which he had known before the Revolution, with the idea of buying an estate there, but the difficulties of naturalisation and the prospect of war made him relinquish it. He kept a record of this tour in a series of letters to the Earl of Darlington, which were eventually handed over for publication to an old schoolfellow named Martyn, "who by the fortuitous occurrences of life has become much reduced in circumstances and who received full permission to dispose of the MS. to his own exclusive advantage."

After the manner of the day, and in marked contrast to the brevity of the modern title, a full description of the book is set out in the title-page: *A Sporting Tour through various parts of France in the year* 1802, *including a concise description of the Sporting establishments, mode of hunting, and other field-amusements, as practised in that country, with general observations on the Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, Husbandry and Commerce: Strictures on the customs and manners of the French People; with a view of the comparative advantages of sporting in France and England, in a series of letters to the Right Hon. the Earl of Darlington, to which is prefixed an account of French Wolf-hunting, by Colonel Thornton of Thornville-Royal, Yorkshire. Illustrated with upwards of* 80 *correct and picturesque delineations from original drawings from nature, by Mr Bryant and other eminent Artists.* The frontispiece is a portrait in stipple of Thornton with a falcon, and the illustrations are of a

very mixed character as regards process, woodcuts, line, and aquatint, all being included. Some observations on the 'embellishments' to Volume I. include the following remarks, which sound somewhat strange in these days, considering that the route included Dieppe, Rouen, Versailles, Paris, Orleans, Fontainebleau, and the châteaux on the Loire:—"It is presumed that the plates with which the present work is illustrated, possess more than ordinary value; not less on account of its having been the chief object of the artist to make faithful and correct copies from nature, than that most of the subjects are selected from those parts of the Continent which have never before been delineated by the English draughtsman. The peculiar route of the author, differing so widely from that of almost every other traveller who visited France during the cessation of hostilities in the year 1802, has materially contributed to the accomplishment of this desirable end."

Although we gather from the Editor's Preface that no French tour of a sporting nature had issued from the press, the book was only first translated into French in 1894, when it appeared in the *Revue Britannique.* In 1805, Thornton sold his father's estate to Lord Stourton, whose name it now bears. He seems to have been fond of France, for he paid many visits there, at one time residing in the château de Chambord, and during the latter years of his life he lived entirely in Paris, where he established a weekly dinner-party under the name of the Falconer's Club. His portrait by Reinagle is in possession of the Earl of Rosebery.

In the *Annual Register* for 1805 he is described as

"the first sportsman of his day in point of science, and one of the most convivial companions of the festive board that ever drained a bowl to Bacchus." His sporting instincts seem occasionally to have sought strange and vicarious outlets, as may be seen from the following account of an incident related in the same volume. "In consequence of Mr Bromford's declining to ride, Mrs Thornton this morning walked or rather cantered in a most excellent style, over York race-course, accompanied by Colonel Thornton, agreeable to the terms of the match, for four hogsheads of Côte Roti, 2000 gs. h. ft., and for 600 gs. p.p. bet by Mrs T.

"Afterwards commenced a match, in which the above lady was to ride two miles against Mr Buckle the jockey, well known at Newmarket, and other places of sport, as a rider of the first celebrity. Mrs Thornton appeared dressed for the contest, in a purple cap and waistcoat, nankeen coloured skirts, purple shoes and embroidered stockings: she was in high health and spirits, and seemed eager for the decision of the match. Mr Buckle was dressed in a blue cap, with blue bodied jacket and white sleeves. Mrs. Thornton carried 9 st. 6 lb., Mr Buckle 13 st. 6 lb. At half-past three they started: Mrs Thornton took the lead, which she kept for some time; Mr Buckle then put in trial his jockeyship, and passed the lady, which he kept for only a few lengths, when Mrs Thornton, by the most excellent, we may truly say, horsemanship, pushed forwards, and came in in a style far superior to anything of the kind we ever witnessed, gaining her race by half a neck. The manner of Mrs Thornton's riding is certainly of the first description, indeed her

close seat and perfect management of her horse, her bold and steady jockeyship, amazed one of the most crowded courses ever witnessed; and, on her winning, she was hailed with the most reiterated shouts of congratulation.

"Mrs T. rode Louisa, sister to Kill-devil, by Pegasus, out of Nelly;—Mr Buckle rode Allegro, by Pegasus, out of Allegranti's dam."[1]

There are very few books on natural history illustrated in aquatint, but these are, for various reasons, of considerable interest. The earliest use of aquatint for this class of subject that I have found is in a book of Charles Catton, *Animals drawn from Nature*, with coloured plates in line and aquatint, all of which are covered with a thick yellow varnish. At the bottom of each plate is *Drawn from life and engraved by Charles Catton, Jun. No. 7 on the Terrace, Tottenham Court Road*,[2] and the date, which is generally 1788; on one, however, it is 1787, and a few are undated.

Charles Catton (1750-1819) was both a scenic painter and topographical draughtsman, and son of Charles Catton, coach-painter to the king, who had himself an excellent knack of humorous design, and etched at least one plate of great merit, the *Margate Packet* (c. 1786), which one would like to associate with Charles and Mary Lamb on the old Margate Hoy, and their "first sight of the sea, co-operating with youth, and a sense of holidays, and out-of-door adventure." J. T. Smith, in his *Life of Nollekens*, speaking of signs in general, states that the elder Catton was "in early life a coach and sign-painter;

[1] *Annual Register*, 1805, vol. xlvii. p. 412.

[2] *Somerset House Gazette*, ii. 360.

he painted a lion as a sign for his friend Wright, a famous coachmaker, at that time living in Long Acre. This picture, though it has weathered many a storm, is still visible (1828) at the coachmaker's on the west side of Wells Street, Oxford Street."[1] His son seems to have travelled in England and Scotland, was one of the foundation members of the Royal Academy, where he exhibited thirty-seven times between 1776 and 1800, and made many drawings of animals and some designs for Gay's *Fables*. In 1804 he emigrated with his family to the banks of the Hudson, where he died fifteen years later, painting occasionally to the end of his life.

New Illustration of the Sexual System of Linnæus, and the Temple of Flora, or Garden of Nature, being picturesque, botanical, coloured plates, of select plants, illustrative of the same, by R. J. Thornton, a son of Bonnell Thornton of the *Connoisseur*, and a botanical and medical writer as well as a physician of mark, easily takes high rank among the books in this small class. It appeared in book form in 1807, though the date of 1799 is given on the title-page and some of the plates, and was originally issued in parts at 25s. each between these dates. It is a fine work, over which Thornton nearly ruined himself by engaging some of the finest artists of the day to make the original drawings for it, indeed, such was his distress that he applied to Parliament, like Boydell before him, for leave to dispose of his works by lottery.[2]

Of these plates W. Henderson designed fifteen,

[1] Ed. E. Gosse, 1895, p. 51.

[2] *Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors*, 1816. It should be said the copy from which the following description is taken is the complete copy in the Library of the British Museum.

P. Reinagle ten, Pether and Hoffman two, S. Edwards, Sir W. Beechey, Russell and Opie, and Thornton himself one each. The aquatint engravers employed were W. Ward, R. Earlom, W. Drinkwater, T. Woolnoth, Elmes, Wamer, T. Sutherland, [F. C.?] Lewis, W. Hopwood, R. Cooper, T. Medland, W. Dunkarton, J. C. Stadler, and J. Caldwall.[1] The botanical specimens are drawn and coloured with conventional exactness, but are placed or grouped in the drawing with an extraordinary lack of artistic effect. A spray of lilies, for example, will appear full size in the foreground of a picture which is really a distant landscape. The interest of the book lies in the mixed processes of engraving applied to many of the plates. Those by Earlom are practically in mezzotint only, printed in several colours and finished by hand, but on most of the other plates aquatint, stipple and mezzotint are all employed, with a very strange though rather interesting result. In the somewhat smaller edition which appeared in 1812 with a slightly different title, the illustrations are not all the same, and the names of the engravers are different. The bibliography of this book is exceedingly complicated, hardly two copies being alike. Those who are interested in this aspect of it must be referred to the notice of Thornton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is worthy of notice that a later venture of his, a school edition of Virgil's *Pastorals*, brought Thornton into contact with Blake, who executed his only woodcuts for the Doctor's book; Thornton, however, was only induced to retain them by the praise

[1] The other engravers employed by Thornton were Burke, Kingsbury, Mazel, Bartolozzi, Ogburne, Tomkins, Cardon. [E. F.] Burney designed one of the vignettes.

of Lawrence, Linnell, and other artists, and in the end thought it necessary to apologise for them, "as they display less of art than of genius, and are much admired by some eminent painters."

W. Wood's *Zoography, or the Beauties of Nature displayed in Select Descriptions from the Animal and Vegetable, with Additions from the Mineral Kingdom* (1807), is a capital book of natural history. The illustrations by William Daniell are all in pure aquatint without the addition of line, and are printed in brown. They are very good instances of the applications of the aquatint process to this particular class of subject, the entire absence of line for purposes of definition proving once for all that the gradation of tone, if well managed, is amply sufficient for the purpose. The same remarks apply to W. Daniell's other book, *Interesting Selections from Animated Nature with Illustrative Scenery* (1809), a work of a similar but superior character. Some of the plates, notably those of the Salamander, the Goose, the Wild Swan, and the Flying Fish, are excellent examples of the high lights that can be obtained from an aquatint plate by delicate stopping out. The plates are exceedingly pictorial, and justify the author's statement made at the beginning. "This volume, as the title indicates, contains a miscellaneous assemblage, formed chiefly from animated nature, intended to present faithful and characteristic representations of such agreeable or interesting objects as have been thought capable of a picturesque illustration. But though the matter itself cannot have the recommendation of novelty, the mode of displaying it, here adopted, is not common; for by placing the

different subjects apparently in situations and under circumstances where they are usually seen in nature, a new interest is communicated even to familiar objects, and an air of truth given to all, much more impressive than without such local accompaniments. In executing this part of his task, the artist has availed himself of his knowledge of foreign scenery, acquired by a long residence abroad, particularly in 'oriental climates.'"

The *Oriental Memoirs* of James Forbes (1749-1819) contains some very fine coloured natural-history plates. The *Memoirs* were "selected and arranged from a series of familiar letters written during seventeen years' residence in India, including observations on parts of Africa and South America, and a narrative of occurrences in four India voyages." The views are engraved in line, but the plates of plants, birds, insects, etc., are in aquatint, signed by W. Stoker, all being after drawings made by the author. Forbes joined the India Company's service at the age of sixteen and continued in it eighteen years. In the Preface to this most interesting work, he introduces it to the public in the following words:—"The MSS. from which these volumes are compiled and the drawings which illustrate them, have formed the principal recreation of my life. The pursuit beguiled the monotony of four India voyages, cheered a solitary residence at Anjengo and Dhuboy, and softened the long period of absence from my native country: it has since mitigated the rigour of captivity and alleviated domestic sorrow. Drawing to me had the same charm as music to the soul of harmony. In my secluded situation in Gujerat, I seemed to be blest with another sense.

My friends in India were happy to enlarge my collection: the sportsman suspended his career after royal game to procure me a curiosity; the Hindoo often brought a bird or an insect for delineation, knowing it would then regain its liberty; and the Brahmin supplied specimens of fruit and flowers from his sacred enclosures. India was formerly not the resort of artists; when there I had little to excite emulation, and no other instruction than a few friendly hints from Sir Archibald Campbell, who, during a short residence at Bombay in 1768, encouraged my juvenile pursuits."

Forbes is said to have filled 150 folio volumes with sketches and notes on the fauna, flora, and archæology of India. While travelling on the Continent with his family, he reached Paris in 1804, just at the time of the renewal of hostilities after the war, and it was only through the intervention of Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, who applied to Carnot, then President of the Institute, for his release on the ground of his being an antiquary and artist, that he was allowed to return to England. In 1806 he published *Letters from France*, in which he gives an account of his captivity. In 1809 his daughter married Marc René de Montalembert, who, driven to England by the Revolution, had joined the English army. Their son, the future historian, was very early confided to his grandfather's care, as his mother followed her husband's regiment, and henceforth Forbes devoted himself to his upbringing, together with the preparation of the *Oriental Memoirs*, a manuscript copy of which he expanded into 42 volumes by the addition of his original sketches for the future use of his grandson.

The botanical works of Dawson Turner (1775-1858)

afford still another instance of the wide range of subject rendered with effect by the aquatint process. Turner, the son of the head of the Yarmouth bank, inherited a large fortune on his father's death, and devoted himself to the study of botany and antiquities. In 1812 he persuaded John Sell Cotman to settle near him in the country, and Mrs Turner and her four daughters worked as his pupils, subsequently aiding Turner in the illustration of some of his antiquarian works. It is, however, his botanical books which are illustrated in aquatint, many of the drawings for them being made by his son-in-law, Sir William Jackson Hooker, the Director of Kew Gardens. His great work, the *Natural History of Fuci* (1819), is noteworthy for the extreme delicacy with which the seaweed forms are reproduced. Turner's own copy of the *Muscologiæ* is in the library of the British Museum.

One of the finest colour-plate books in existence is undoubtedly George Brookshaw's *Pomona Britannica*, issued in 1805 in thirty numbers, atlas folio, with 93 plates in mixed aquatint and stipple.[1] In 1817 another edition was brought out in two vols., elephant quarto, but the earlier issue is incomparably superior. Brookshaw's other books were all illustrated in stipple only, and are very fine examples of coloured stipple, a process somewhat rare in book illustration. Mention has been made of Patrick Syme's book on Flower Drawing, with its minutely delicate outline plates; Brookshaw's *Treatise on Flower Painting, or every Lady her own drawing master* (1818), has duplicate plates in colour and outline after the manner

[1] Lowndes gives the date wrongly as 1812.

of Syme, and his other two drawing-books, *Supplement to the Treatise on Flower Painting*, and *Groups of Flowers, Fruits, and Birds, designed as a Companion to the Treatise on Flower Painting*, appeared in the same form.

But the most sumptuous work to which aquatint was ever applied in illustration is undoubtedly the *Birds of America*, with plates after original drawings by John James Audubon, published between 1827 and 1830. The author was a Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, of the Linnæan and Zoological Societies of London, and a member of the Natural History Society of Paris and of the Lyceum of New York. The plates, 435 in number, measure $36\frac{1}{2}'' \times 25\frac{1}{2}''$. A very few of the early ones, engraved by W. H. Lizars of Edinburgh, are in line, but aquatint was used in all the rest. Each plate has the name of the bird in English and Latin as well as that of the flower or plant that supports it, the latter being botanical specimens of the most remarkable beauty. It has also on the left side, *Drawn from nature and published by John J. Audubon*, and on the right side, *Engraved, Printed and Coloured*, or sometimes only *Printed and Coloured by R. Havell & Son*, or by R. Havell, Sen., or R. Havell, Jun. The book contains groups of birds and plants from the largest to the smallest, and a more delicate use of aquatint can never have been made than on some of the exquisite reproductions of flowering shrubs of which the work is full. As instances of this, one may mention the Long Sparrow on the Wortleberry, and the Crested Titmouse on the Pincis Strobus, but selection is almost invidious, and the only drawback to one's

pleasure in such a marvel of form and colour is the size and weight of the individual volumes. It is interesting to compare with this book the monograph on *The Family of the Psittacidæ*, of Edward Lear who wrote the *Book of Nonsense*, perhaps the finest book of coloured lithographs in existence, of which Lear thus wrote :—"It is the first complete volume of coloured drawings of birds on so large a scale published in England, so far as I know, unless Audubon's were previously engraved."[1]

We have already mentioned Testolini's *Rudiments of Drawing . . . Flowers*, and Merigot's *Amateur's Portfolio* in the chapter on Drawing-books ; another and very fine example of the use of aquatint for flower subjects is a *Selection of Hexandrian Plants belonging to the natural orders of the Amaryllis and Lily*, by Mrs Bury of Liverpool. The plates, which measure 24½″ × 19″, have the imprint *engraved, printed, and coloured by R. Havell;* there is hardly any line in them, the aquatint being of the finest possible character and the hand-colouring as pure and delicate as the nature of the subject demanded.

George Perry's *Conchology, or the Natural History of Shells* (1811) is a very fine work, in the illustration of which aquatint is employed throughout, with a slight addition of line or stipple for the more delicate definition. The plates were engraved and coloured after the original drawings by John Clarke, and are of great beauty. Apart from this fact, the book is a noteworthy example of the application of aquatint to another and distinct class of Nature-work from those already mentioned.

[1] *Letters of Edward Lear*, ed. by Lady Strachey, 1907, p. xxviii.

CHAPTER XII

CARICATURE AND COSTUME

GEORGIAN humour, like that of most epochs, may be taken as an infallible guide to the spiritual state of the general public. Two kinds of humour, the broad and the subtle, will generally flourish side by side, and it is on the prevailing influence that we must base our judgment of the whole.

Few periods in our history have possessed less of this peculiarly English quality in either form than that preceding the Georgian era. Such as there was before 1700 may be found occasionally in Dryden, constantly in Bunyan, and to some degree, though rarely, owing to the predominance of wit, in the comic stage. The great group of satirists of the next age, Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, and Defoe, use humour—when they use it at all—as a means rather than an end, and the same may be said of the earliest of our artistic humourists, William Hogarth. Addison's humour, in which tears are heard in the voice of laughter, is of a subtler cast; but it is with Fielding, first in the delightful burlesque of *Tom Thumb*, secondly in *Joseph Andrews* and its successors, that humour in its widest sense revives as a permanent force in English literature. Thenceforward, in spite of *comédie larmoyante*, sentimental novel, and *Meditations among the Tombs*, humour

becomes a great and growing factor in literature and art. But, like most young growths, it required a great deal of pruning. Coarseness, which might be defined as the comedy of physical mishap, had always tended to be a vice of English writers, and when English art came to its own it was inevitable that the same quality should appear in it also. The eighteenth century was a coarse age. The innate antagonism to France which, during the seventeenth century, among the better classes at least, had been in abeyance, broke out in full force under the Georges, and John Bullism in its most brutal form was rampant. As Horace Walpole said of the art of Teniers and his school:—"When the Flemish painters attempt humour, it is by making a drunkard vomit, and when they make us sick, they think they make us laugh."

Too often this is literally true. When Smollett, for instance, is at his best, as in the Roman dinner in *Peregrine Pickle*, it is less the legitimate comedy of learned and incongruous preparation that is insisted on than the finale, the universal sickness that follows on partaking of the dishes prepared *à la* Pliny. Twenty years later, when the adventures of the Blunderhead family at Bath were making all England laugh, it is still the physical deformity, the practical joke, that is to the fore. But, in work that has any claim to be called literature, this is almost the latest ebullition of humour in its grosser forms. The ever-increasing influence of the novel was a powerful agent in the growth of urbanity, and its progress during half a century may be traced in the three great names of Fielding, Fanny Burney, and Jane

Austen. We include Jane Austen because *Pride and Prejudice*, it will be remembered, was written in 1796, though not published until ten years later. Art, however, had still to pass through its noisy childhood and boisterous youth ; small wonder then that it seems to us so crude. Thackeray somewhere says that the jokes of children and dull men are mostly cruel. English art was very young, the public for which it worked was coarse and obtuse, and the study of Rowlandson, Gillray and their fellows will only be found tolerable if these things be taken into account. Even so, the need for forbearance is very great. As in literature the *Sentimental Journey* is in essence a protest against Smollett, so in art Stothard, Kirk, and the rest, develope out of the instinctive opposition of finer natures to the noisy mirth of the mob. When the guffaw has subsided, more delicate voices can be heard. He laughs best who laughs not loudest but longest; art and literature alike bear witness to this truth.

Before going on to the books in our period that are justified of their humour, it may be well to devote a few words to the history of caricature in England.

The fact that the word caricature is not found in dictionaries before Johnson, that Chesterfield and Junius, equally with Sir Thomas Browne use the word in its Italian form, which appears in Fores' advertisement, shortly to be quoted, as late as 1790, is proof that before the middle of the eighteenth century the thing was not common enough in England to demand a special name. It appears to have been first used politically in the time of James II., but did not

attain serious importance until the period of the Walpole administration. Buttons, medals, seals, tobacco-stoppers, cards, fans, etc., etc., were made the vehicle of caricature by Whigs and Jacobites alike, until after the rising of '45, when they gradually died out, giving place to the print which has since, in art at least, monopolised the name. The social importance of caricature first appeared at the time of the South Sea Bubble, but was thenceforward somewhat in abeyance until the time of George III. Personal caricature, on the other hand, was largely made use of, and in two instances at least, the Dunces' revenge upon Pope, which included the brilliant and fertile discovery that A.P—E. spelt Ape, and the Hogarth-Churchill quarrel, resulting in the satire of the *Times* and the caricatures of Wilkes and Hogarth, retain some interest to the present day. Soon after 1780, the rage for caricature had reached such a height that Fores, the enterprising Piccadilly printseller, formed a library of caricatures and prints, and charged for admission to see them, or lent them out in portfolios for fashionable evening parties; in 1790, he was issuing the following detailed advertisement:—

"FORES'S
GRAND CARICATURA EXHIBITION,
IS NOW OPENED
AT No. 3 PICCADILLY;
CONTAINING THE MOST COMPLETE COLLECTION OF
Humourous, Political and Satirical Prints and Drawings
EVER EXPOSED TO PUBLIC VIEW IN THIS KINGDOM.

"To the works of Hogarth, Bunbury, Sayre, and Rowlandson, is added every Caricature Print, executed by other hands, that has been published during the course of many years. The whole forming an

entire Caricature History, political and domestic, of past and present times.

"The appearance of this exhibition, when illuminated in the evening, is not easily described.—The effect is uncommonly striking.

"The Rooms are open from nine in the morning, till eight in the evening.

Admittance One Shilling.

"N.B.—FORES has lately added to his Museum, the head and much of the unfortunate Count STRUENZEE, who was beheaded at Denmark; also the French Caricature Prints on the Revolution."

The advertisement, which appears in French and English at the end of *Fores's New Guide for Foreigners* [1789], concludes with the announcement "*Prints of all kinds wholesale and retail;* STATIONERY, ETC," and the announcement of new prints by Rowlandson.

The time had come, so had the men. Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), James Gillray (1757-1815), and Henry Bunbury (1756-1827)—a man of far higher education and position than either, though less in advance of his colleagues in the matter of refinement than might have been hoped—poured out for the space of forty years an incredible number of caricatures, Gillray alone being credited with 1500 plates, and their work, according to W. M. Thackeray, formed the staple contents of the portfolios in every country-house in England for two generations. Their tradition was carried on by their young contemporary George Cruikshank, who survived the last of them one and fifty years, and lived to see a change in the spirit of humorous art analogous to that which had passed over English fiction between 1750 and 1800.

The chief humorous works with aquatint illustrations, though in the case of the more important artists fully

dealt with elsewhere, demand, with their authors, a passing notice. Whether these authors were highly placed civil servants or gutter journalists the type of humour is curiously similar, the very reverse of that which is not for an age, but for all time. And it is sometimes difficult to feel the appreciation that can make allowances.

John Mitford (1782-1831), a distant cousin of Miss Mitford of *Our Village* and her egregious father, entered the navy as a midshipman on board the *Victory* in 1795, and was present at the battle of the Nile, of his prowess at which he was wont to tell the wildest stories. By his own account he deserted the service, but as he is known to have been in the navy, and to have held other Government positions for some years afterwards, the incident is probably imaginary. In 1811, he returned to England on the understanding that Lady Perceval, a distant connection, was ready to procure him a good appointment in the Civil Service, but, though treating him with some personal kindness, she merely used his services in the daily press on behalf of her idol the Princess of Wales. Under the stress of journalism Mitford's brain gave way, and for nearly a year he was the inmate of a lunatic asylum. He was only liberated at the request of Lady Perceval, but she, finding that his articles in the press were likely to get her into trouble, got Mitford and his wife to burn her letters, and then brought an action against him for having sworn that the articles were by her. The trial roused considerable interest, pamphlets were issued on either side, but Mitford produced some of Lady Perceval's letters still in his possession, and was triumphantly acquitted. Hav-

ing been discharged from the navy as insane, he henceforth devoted himself to journalism, publishing articles in the *Scourge* in 1815, and in 1818, his best known work, *The Adventures of Johnny Newcome in the Navy*, which he wrote in imitation of a book with the same title, written by Alfred Burton, and illustrated with sixteen plates by Rowlandson. During these years he sank into the lowest depth of degradation; his unfortunate family were provided for by the Mitfords, but he declined all assistance, caring only for drink and writing. "Mitford," says Timperley, "has been heard to say if his soul was placed on one table and a bottle of gin on another, he would sell the former to buy the latter."[1] His publisher, finding that so long as he had money he would not work, limited him to a shilling a day, of which he spent tenpence in gin, and for forty-three days in succession he is said to have lived in Bayswater Fields, making a bed out of grass and nettles, having with him ink and paper, spirits and food, and only emerging when his next shilling was due. *Johnny Newcome*, a lively poem, in octo-syllabic verse, may be roughly described as a somewhat improper *Peter Simple*, Portsmouth, Barbadoes, and all, and it is possible that Marryat may have taken hints from it. His description of a private lunatic asylum in the same book suggests another and later work of Mitford's, *A Description of the Crimes and Horrors in the interior of Warburton's Private Madhouse*, a record, certainly highly coloured and possibly fictitious, of personal experience. Mitford sank lower and lower, and eventually died in St Giles' workhouse, 24th December, 1831.

[1] *History of Printing*, p. 919.

The *Military Adventures of Johnny Newcome* gave rise to sundry imitations, among which the best is the *Post Captain, or Adventures of a True British Tar: by a Naval Officer*, published in 1817, and containing twenty-five very spirited plates by C. Williams. Still another imitation is the *Life of a Soldier, a Narrative ana Descriptive Poem*, published by W. Sams in 1823, and written and illustrated by William Heath, an ex-Captain of Dragoons, who made the original drawings for the *Martial Achievements*, and many of those in the *Historic Military and Naval Anecdotes*.

David Carey (1782-1824), a much more reputable person, though like Mitford essentially a journalist, spent his life in Scotland, Paris, and London, the first supplying material for his sentimental verse and novels, the second for his *Life in Paris* (1822), and the third for his journalistic work and his well-known satire on the dissolution of the Ministry of All the Talents. Of his very miscellaneous work only *Life in Paris*, a free imitation of Pierce Egan's *Real Life in London*, concerns us here. The twenty-one spirited aquatints are by George Cruikshank, whose knowledge of France was, nevertheless, confined to one day spent at Boulogne. It is said that, in 1865, he utterly denied having executed these plates, which had seen the light forty-three years before.

"John Careless, Esq.," is only known as the author of a rare colour-book, *The Old English Squire*, published by M'Lean in 1821, with twenty coloured plates "by one of the family" in the style of Rowlandson. The literary matter differs from that of Combe and Mitford

in being strongly influenced by the style of Walter Scott, wherever the galloping metre of *Retaliation* and the *Haunch of Venison* is not used. Especially curious is the account of the collection of Old Masters, from which the Old English Squire bought his *St Anthony preaching to the Fishes*, which he

> "sent to the country,
> Where it edified all, but most fishing gentry."

The more famous writings of William Combe have been already noticed, and only a fraction of his other work has any claim to remembrance. Between 1774 and 1823 he was constantly pouring out volumes on every possible subject, from editions of voyages by Jesuits and naval lieutenants, and scurrilous pamphlets on Wesley and Dr Dodd, to political skits, serious histories of Westminster and the Universities, and studies of the Origin of Commerce. As already said, the text of the *History of Madeira*, mostly in verse, was written in his seventy-ninth year. Of the eighty-five separate publications mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography* very few are germane to our purpose, and of those illustrated in aquatint by far the most famous are the several *Tours of Dr Syntax*. Combe's verse is easy and not too incorrect, and the original idea—albeit not strong enough to supply such a series without detriment—was a happy one, though it must be admitted that Dr Syntax and Grizzle would, but for their illustrator, have gone the way of all third-rate verse.

The Combe-Rowlandson alliance also produced other fruits, the *Dance of Death* and *Dance of Life* being

notably above the ordinary level of Combe's verse. All these works show the better side of Rowlandson's genius; the best was reserved for the *Microcosm* and some of his many detached drawings.

Pierce Egan (1772-1849), journalist and author, the patron of prize-fights and creator of Tom and Jerry, was an ardent believer in pugilism and country sports, and, as the editor of *Bell's Life* wrote of him, "with all his oddities, a rightminded fellow." By finding the right men for his work he made *Life in London* (1821) one of the great successes of the day, comparable to that other triumphant alliance of humour and art in the pages of *Dr Syntax*. The Cruikshanks are hardly more refined than Rowlandson, and the book and its successors are now little else than curiosities, but, as Thackeray writes in that essay in the *Roundabout Papers* which to many of us is our first introduction to Tom and Jerry, "It must have had some merit of its own, that is clear; it must have given striking descriptions of life in some part or other of London, for all London read it, and went to see it in its dramatic shape." A French translation appeared at Paris in 1823, under the title of *Diorame Anglaise, ou Promenades pittoresques à Londres*, with 24 of the original plates; a *Key* to the book, with a "Vocabulary of Flash and Cant," was published at Edinburgh; and the burletta founded on the book and acted at Sadler's Wells was one of the dramatic successes of the day. Egan's own continuation, the *Finish to the Adventures of Tom, Jerry, and Logic* (1828), is a moralizing of the whole, and far less familiar than the earlier work; in this case the thirty-

six plates are all by Robert Cruikshank, and good as they are, the lack of George Cruikshank's *verve* is distinctly felt. Egan's knowledge of low and sporting life enabled him to contribute the slang phrases to Grose's *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1823), and a periodical started by him in 1824 as *Pierce Egan's Life in London and Sporting Guide* eventually became the notorious *Bell's Life*. His other works, illustrated in aquatint, were *Anecdotes of the Turf, the Chase, the Ring, and the Stage*, and the *Life of an Actor*, both with plates by Theodore Lane. Egan's frequent coarseness makes it a matter of surprise that the dedication of his *Pilgrims of the Thames in Search of the National*, a reflection, in name at least, of Dr Syntax, should have been accepted by the young Queen Victoria in 1838.

Sir Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845) was only incidentally a humorist, being a Norfolk baronet, a collector of Calcutta, and M.P. for Ipswich, and—unlike the majority of contemporary humorists—the restorer of his family fortunes. He entered the East India Company's service before he was sixteen, and during forty years of loyal service and steady promotion was one of the most prominent civilians in India. His return home was occasioned by ill health, and the last seven years of his life were spent chiefly in Italy. D'Oyly was an amateur of considerable gifts, and his drawings were much admired by Bishop Heber. Specimens may be seen in the *European in India* (1813) and the *Antiquities of Dacca* (1814-15). His only humorous work, *Tom Raw, the Griffin*, a Burlesque Poem, describes, with more of

artistic than literary merit, the adventures of a cadet in the Company's service. The book was published anonymously in 1828, and has not been re-issued.

Of the career of Gillray an outline will be found among the biographical notices at the end of this volume. His caricatures, social and political, are far more literary than Rowlandson's, and therefore more enduring, his allusions being drawn from sources as wide apart as Milton and Swift. No one who has seen it can forget the cartoon of George III as the King of Brobdingnag, watching with contemptuous amusement the movements of Napoleon-Gulliver in his cockleshell of a boat, and this is only one of many examples. But as a book-illustrator he did next to nothing. Rowlandson, on the other hand, illustrated more than thirty books in plain or coloured aquatint, varying from the very finest work executed for Ackermann to plates of the grossest character. Small wonder that Thackeray calls them and their like "prohibited pages in the wild, coarse, reckless, ribald, generous book of old English humour."

The work of Henry Alken (*fl.* 1816-1831), whether in the form of independent drawings or illustrations to coloured books such as the *Life of a Sportsman* and the *National Sports of Great Britain*, was largely executed for M'Lean, his earlier plates appearing under the pseudonym of "Ben Tallyho." His drawing is not always of the strongest, and his wit is of the cheapest order, but as an illustrator of sport, coaching, and racing, whether in the *Memoirs of John Mytton* or the *National Sports*, he possesses an importance which his professedly humorous works, such as the *Symptoms of being*

Amused and *A Touch at the Fine Arts* are wholly without. Most of his work is in soft ground etching.

A very small proportion of the mass of illustrations executed by George Cruikshank is in aquatint, and the most famous of these, *Life in London*, is the joint production of himself and his brother Robert. Their coloured plates consist of etchings, sometimes with an addition of aquatint, which were afterwards coloured by hand. Other important works thus partially illustrated in aquatint were Mudford's *Historical Account of the Campaigns in the Netherlands* (1817) and the Hudibrastic *Life of Napoleon by Dr Syntax* (1815), sometimes attributed to Combe.

The name of Robert Cruikshank leads us to consider what is perhaps the most daring book ever published, the *English Spy* (1825) of Charles Molloy Westmacott, the disreputable editor of a disreputable paper, *The New Age*. The scope of the book is indicated by its sub-title, *An Original Work, Characteristic, Satirical and Humorous, comprising scenes and sketches in every rank of society, being Portraits of the Illustrious, Eminent, Eccentric, and Notorious; Drawn from the life by Bernard Blackmantle.* On the covers of the parts in which the book was originally issued are advertised, with matchless impudence, numerous books published by Westmacott under his own name; sixty-eight of the seventy-two admirable aquatint plates and all the woodcuts are by Robert Cruikshank. The text is more interesting than the pictures, a rare thing in coloured books, and the freedom with which notorious personages of the day, male and female, are introduced is astounding.

The first volume is the pleasanter; the chapters on Eton are full of an arch tenderness that suggests Leigh Hunt, and abound in interesting details of *Montem*, *Election Saturday*, etc. The hero then goes to Oxford—incidentally we learn that the commoner of the day wore a long gown, not the unpicturesque garment at present allotted him—and becomes acquainted with the rowdyism of the time. *Burning the Oaks, a Scene in Tom Quad*, pistol firing in college rooms, and less moral occupations come into the account of the first term; with the hero's visit to *Cockney Land* personalities really begin. A long poem with explanatory notes describes the *beau monde* in Hyde Park, with careful attention to every scandal then in vogue, the Opera, the Royal Saloon, and Shew Sunday (*sic*). Then follow other details of Oxford life: a wine party makes even those in Verdant Green good-mannered; a Town and Gown row ends in rustication, during which a visit to Brighton introduces the Pavilion, the company, and Majesty itself—"that life and soul of all that is elegant and classical," for Bernard Blackmantle is a loyal man. Further sketches of London follow; Tattersall's, a Prize Fight, Covent Garden Clubs, the Maiden Brief, the Green Room, with portraits of Elliston and Munden, immortalised by Charles Lamb, the Mansion House Ball, an Irish Wake, a ball at the notorious Argyll Rooms, with biographical details of incredible audacity, Punch, the Marigold family at home and on a water party, and other studies of the manners and customs of the cit, rows at Westminster and Harrow, and a scene on the Stock Exchange. The hero then visits the Isle of Wight, and indulges in naval

frolics of Smollett-like coarseness, goes to the spas and Doncaster races, visits Gloucester, Berkeley, Bristol, and finally Bath, where a wonderful Fancy Ball is held at the Upper Rooms. Another plate, a scene in Milsom Street, explains why Catherine Morland and her friends in *Northanger Abbey* found it so difficult to cross the road. With *Waggeries at Worcester*, a call to town, and a short Ode at Parting, this extraordinary miscellany comes to an end.

It seemed worth while to describe the *English Spy* at length as it forms a sort of microcosm of late Georgian humour, a compound of personalities, puns, and downright brutality, with a delicate humorous touch not unworthy of the age of Lamb. The work of the great and unforgotten humourists, to us the highway of literature, were to their contemporaries obscure bypaths. Eight editions of *Dr Syntax*, apart from continuations and imitations, appeared between 1812 and 1819; the *Essays of Elia* were collected in 1823, and no other edition appeared during the author's life. Fairly to estimate Georgian humour we must leave the works of the immortals, Lamb and Hunt and the *Essay on Murder as a Fine Art*, and turn to those, in Shelley's phrase, of 'the illustrious obscure,' which—oh! glory extinct—are now sought only for their illustrations.

The costume of the past is to us so much a matter of archæology, that of the present so much a matter of fashion—and, in cases where costume in the strict sense still survives, of sentimental interest—that we accept it as more or less inevitable. No romance surrounds

the subject; a play is staged with minute historical accuracy; a district in which national dress is still worn is marked down by the organisers of cheap travel; and the eye, not the imagination, is appealed to in either case.

At the close of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, the picturesque, whether in nature or art, was a new discovery. Two conventions had long held the field, the classic as appropriate to the heroic, contemporary dress and manners to the everyday; and each may be abundantly illustrated from art, literature, and the stage. "How lately," says Planché in his *History of British Costume*, "have the heroes and sages of Greece and Rome strutted upon the stage in flowery perukes and gold-laced waistcoats.

> "What shook the stage and made the people stare?
> Cato's long wig, flowered gown, and lacker'd chair."

On the new coinage of 1787 George III appears in the dress of a Roman general, while St Paul's and Westminster Abbey are full of classical statesmen and men of letters. Probably the latest example of the use of the toga is the statue of William Huskisson, of all men, in Chichester Cathedral, a provincial instance, it is true, but remarkable as proving the hold of the classical ideal on English life and art.

This ideal, be it remembered, was wholly unconnected with the classicism of David and his school; it was a tradition, not a movement, and French enthusiasm for the ancients, associated as it was with the Revolution, probably did much to destroy its vogue in England. Sir John Carr, one of the earliest travellers to penetrate into France after the Peace of Amiens, went, he tells us, to

David's studio, but "the presence of that bloody revolutionary covered the gratification with gloom." Another reason for the decadence of the classic convention may be found in the existence of the great English school of painting. Reynolds and Gainsborough were too influential, and too much bound up with the English aristocracy and things as they were, their disciples too numerous and important, for English art to be carried away with the wind of the new doctrine; and when a rebel arose in the person of Haydon, it was not from France that he sought his inspiration.

The classical tendency in England then was on the wane after the outburst of the Revolution and the discovery of the Middle Ages had begun. As early as 1749 Shenstone was writing to Lady Luxborough, "*I* propose, or *fancy* I propose, to build a Piece of Gothic Architecture, at sight of which, all modern Castles near shall bow their Heads abased, like the other Sheaves to JOSEPH'S"; a little later came Strawberry Hill and Gray's letters to his friends about Gothic wall papers, and the romantic revival had fairly begun. Papworth and James Wyatt had gone further than Horace Walpole, and "Gothic" structures all over England began to call for fittings, costumes, armour, to match. The cosmopolitan spirit was evoking books of travel by the hundred; and what was the value of foreign scenes without foreigners, or how should strange countries be realised without pictures of their stranger inhabitants?

The spirit of the age was that of discovery, less of things than of people, and showed itself in a thousand ways; in architecture as we have seen, in painting, when

Gainsborough could choose a Vandyke dress to set off some of his noblest portraits; in travel, when costume plates ranging from Yorkshire to Japan were published and bought in London, and in the historical spirit, which set Godwin to writing lives of Chaucer and histories of the Commonwealth in which what might have been seen by the poet and by Cromwell was dragged in to the detriment of the book but the satisfaction of the reader. The time had come for the proper study of mankind, and the change which was heralded by West in 1771, when he dared, in defiance of criticism, to represent Wolfe in uniform, instead of in heroic nakedness or classic armour, dying victorious in the arms of his soldiers;[1] which was assisted by Cook's *Voyages* and the appearance in London of the Hawaiian Omai; and was given its opportunity, in Europe at least, by the Peace of Amiens, made so great a difference to art, to literature and to the stage that the *Waverley Novels* fell as seed into tilled ground, and if on the one hand they led to the Eglintoun Tournament, they also prepared the way for the study of sociology, or man as he was and is.

One of Boydell's earlier publications,[2] Thomas Jeffery's *Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations—particularly Old English Dresses* (1773), with its 480 plates, is one of the earliest and most important books on its subject, but it is difficult to find any satisfactory explanation for the amazing outburst of books on costume from

[1] It is only fair to the Academy to state that Reynolds, who had at first been opposed to the innovation, was converted by the finished picture, and prophesied that it would "occasion a revolution in art."

[2] It is an interesting fact that the costumes of Holland, Russia, and Sweden in this book are taken from etchings by Le Prince (see chap. ii.).

1789 onwards, and the willingness of the public to pay the large prices at which they were issued. Interest in the subject at home centred in the numerous collections of fashion plates, such as those in the *Repository*, *La belle Assemblée*, the *Gentleman's Magazine of Fashions*, Hearn and Walker's *British Costumes*, Heidelhoff's *Gallery of Fashion*, and many merely ephemeral publications besides. Among the artists the names of W. Alexander and J. A. Atkinson are specially prominent. As a rule stipple seems to have been found a more suitable process than aquatint for representing the delicacy of detail in costume, at least it was more often used for the purpose, and *The Gallery of Fashion*, published by N. Heidelhoff in 1794, is the best example of aquatint applied to fashion plates. It appeared in monthly parts at three guineas for the yearly volume, and was completed in 1802 in nine volumes, containing 251 engravings and aquatints, delicately hand-coloured with the addition of gold. The prints are most spirited and characterful, quite unlike the stereotyped conventions of the present-day fashion plate, and the book is indeed what it claims to be, "a Repository of Dress." A complete copy is hard to find, as such books, more perhaps than any others, have been broken up for the value of their single plates, and when one comes into the market it fetches £30 or more. There is no engraver's name, but the plates were probably executed by Nikolaus Wilhelm von Heidelhoff (1761-1839), one of a family of artists, sculptors and architects whose careers extended over nearly two centuries (1676-1865), and was from childhood brought up as an engraver,

studying at Stuttgart under J. G. V. Müller. In 1784 he went to Paris in the service of Duke Charles Eugène, but quitted his employer almost at once and supported himself as a miniature painter. He subsequently came over to England and worked with Ackermann, for whom he executed the engravings in the *Costume of the Swedish Army*. In 1815 he was appointed director of the picture-gallery at the Hague, and died subsequently to 1838.

Other costume books of great value are those issued with short descriptive essays by William Miller, the publisher, between 1800 and 1808. *The Costume of China*, by Lieut.-Col. Mason, from original drawings by Peu Qua, of Canton; *The Punishments of China*, by the same; *The Costume of Turkey*, by Octavian d'Alvemart; *The Costume of Russia* and *The Costume of Austria*, all these being in stipple. Then appeared *The Costume of China*, by William Alexander, draughtsman to the embassy of Earl Macartney, which, as the preface says, "being executed by a British artist, forms a strong contrast to that from the pencil of the native Peu Qua, more particularly as the subjects selected are also all different." This series was completed in 1808 by a seventh on *The Costume of Great Britain*, designed, engraved, and written by W. H. Pyne, the complete set, containing 373 engravings, being published at £48, 16s. 6d.

In the preface to the last volume Miller states that, "having at great labour and expence produced a series of costumes, illustrative of the Manners, Habits and Decorations of several highly interesting Foreign

Countries, with which British travellers and British readers have been, till of late years, very little conversant," he thought "that the utility and interest of the whole might be considerably augmented by contrasting them with similar representations taken from his own country." Good as are all the plates in this very interesting volume, perhaps the most successful are those devoted to the delineation of the various crafts and trades, for Pyne had a wonderful eye for the physical characteristics produced by different occupations, and great sympathy with the trader, whether apprentice or master, as his literary work everywhere shows.

We have alluded earlier to the criticism often passed on aquatint engraving, that it destroys the individuality of the artist by its method of translating his work. No more striking instance of the fact that this is not an inevitable result of the process can be found than in the books illustrated by John Augustus Atkinson. He was born in the same year as Turner and Girtin, and had gone to Russia when nine years old. Two of his pictures from Russian history were hung as early as 1799 in the Palace of St Michael, and he seems to have attracted the notice of the Empress Catherine and to have been patronised by her as well as by the Emperor Paul after her death. Atkinson returned to England after Paul's assassination in 1801, bringing with him sketches of costumes, scenes of military life and other material which he used later in the books that appear under his name. James Walker, whose name is joined with his in the fine book entitled *A picturesque Representation of the Manners, Customs and Amusements of*

A Wayside Inn.

By J. A. Atkinson. From a Print belonging to the Author.

ITINERANTS ON THE BOULEVARDS.
From *Costume Caractéristique de France* (1810) by R. B. Peake.

the Russians (1812), had been engraver to the Empress at St Petersburg when Atkinson was there. Atkinson's style is exceedingly free and spirited, his composition most graceful and his colouring light and delicate. His work is largely in soft ground etching in combination with aquatint. After 1803 he exhibited annually at the Royal Academy, but little has been discovered about the later years of his life, and the date of his death is unknown. Besides his plates on costume he did some of a humorous nature, notably those for *The Miseries of Human Life*, a book written by James Beresford (1764-1840), a clergyman and miscellaneous writer, which won the praise of Scott and went through several editions, and also executed a series of twenty-six water-colour drawings in illustration of *Don Quixote*, which do not appear to have been engraved.

The Costume of Yorkshire, by George Walker, has some fine bold plates by R. and D. Havell, in which the specially characteristic occupations of the Dalesmen are well represented. Particularly attractive are those of the Moor Guide, the Dog-breaker, the Wolds Waggon, and others that show a charming background of moor and country. A book in very similar character, with a descriptive text in French and English, is *The Characteristic Costume of France*, with appropriate descriptions by an artist recently returned from the Continent, one R. B. Peake, whose name is on all the plates as etcher, some of them having the further inscription *engraved by R. Havell.*

The twenty coloured plates in A. P. D. G.'s *Sketches of Portuguese Life, manners, customs and character*, are

not particularly interesting, but the text that accompanies them gives a vivid and easily written account of the state of society in Portugal at the time; the author was in the Portuguese Civil Service for many years, and the subjects of the plates are, he says, nearly all scenes of which he was himself an eye-witness.

The Costume and Customs of Modern India (1813), from a collection of drawings by Charles D'Oyly, engraved by J. H. Clark and C. Dubourg, has a good descriptive text by Capt. Thomas Williamson, and a very amusing preface concerning the young gentlemen, own brothers of D'Oyly's *Tom Raw*, who go out in "the Company's civil or military services." He describes the order of their day, their wardrobe, exercise and diet, and incidentally we hear the somewhat surprising statement that "such as do not take wine, especially as they advance in years, are not only more subject to disease, but go off more suddenly than those who take a few glasses at their meals." The twenty plates are concerned as much with the Englishman as the native, and some of the little groups, such as an English family at table under a punkah, and the Marquis Wellesley and suite at the Nabob of Oude's breakfast table, viewing an elephant fight, are particularly good. They are of a somewhat unusual character, being set in a framework of lines with a narrow tinted border, and have a very fine ground and delicate colouring.

So far as our own country is concerned, the most important and in their way epoch-making books on costume were those of Charles Hamilton Smith and Samuel Rush Meyrick, written as they

were from the point of view of the antiquary and the scholar.

Charles Hamilton Smith (1776-1859) was a soldier and writer on natural history who began to sketch before he was fifteen, and through his varied career of active service was ever making drawings and accumulating scientific data. He retired on half-pay in 1820 and settled at Plymouth, where he had an extensive library, and spent the rest of his life in writing books on history, natural history, and archæology. His great work, *Selections of the Ancient Costume of Great Britain and Ireland* (1814), was illustrated entirely from the collection in his possession. Its aim was to show that the disregard of traits of costume by painters or actors, due to a prejudiced idea "that the pursuits of the Antiquary are dry, tasteless and inelegant; and that to introduce upon the stage or on the canvas materials derived from such a source, must naturally destroy all beauty and harmony, and produce an insipid if not a burlesque effect. But an inspection of the following specimens will tend to prove the notion groundless, and shew that when the outline of the human form is preserved tolerably correct, the draperies and armour will not be wanting in beauty or grandeur. Far from diminishing the impressions intended to be conveyed, an adherence to the costume of the times represented will augment the illusion, and assist to explain the meaning." The plates are all from Smith's own drawings, and are signed *etched by J. A. Atkinson*, and *aquatinted by* Hill, R. Havell, J. Havell, and Merigot.

Samuel Rush Meyrick (1783-1848), who co-operated with Hamilton Smith in his other great work, *Costume of*

the original Inhabitants of the British Islands (1814), was a great scholar and writer on archæological subjects. He accumulated a magnificent collection of armour, and in 1826 advised the authorities of the Tower of London as to the arrangement of the national collection. Two years later he arranged the collection at Windsor Castle, for which service he was knighted by George IV. The main object of his *Critical Enquiry into antient armour* (1824) was, he says in the preface, "to establish that chronology of Costume with respect to antient arms and armour which has hitherto been so imperfectly regarded alike by writers, painters, and dramatists of modern times"; and further on he adds: "The refined taste which, with regard to other matters of costume, has been so happily cultivated in this country, during the present reign, has not only given a general stimulus to the arts, but introduced into paintings and scenic representations of all kinds, an historical accurateness with which our ancestors were unacquainted. Good drawing and correct colouring, fine acting with well delivered sentences are now considered as insufficient without chronological accuracy." The book is certainly superb. Aquatint is largely employed on the plates, which were engraved by Maddocks, some of them having in addition *aquatinted by Charles Hunt.* The colouring is rich and effective, and often enhanced with gold. In 1823 Meyrick made the acquaintance of J. R. Planché, and assisted him in his efforts for the reform of theatrical costume. In that year Charles Kemble revived *King John* at Drury Lane, and Planché, after making historical researches, designed the dresses and gratuitously superintended the production. It was the first occasion

on which a play was brought out with due attention to historic truth. The days of Norval in white satin and Lady Macbeth in black velvet and point lace were over, and accuracy as well as splendour had supplanted the confused theatrical traditions of the earlier stage.

The number of books on costume illustrated in aquatint may, at first sight, seem a small one, but it must be remembered that many of the volumes on travel include pictures of the dress of foreign countries. Interest in costume will last as long as history, and if in books devoted to it during the period under review stipple competes with aquatint in illustrative importance, the aquatint lover has the satisfaction of knowing that the works by C. H. Smith are likely to remain classics on the subject for all time.

APPENDIX A

BOOKS PUBLISHED BEFORE 1830 WITH AQUATINT PLATES

The limit of date here adopted is 1830. *Exceptions are, however, made in the case of artists whose earlier work falls within the period, or where it seemed desirable to complete the list of books on a given subject or by an engraver of importance. Plates are not coloured unless so described. London is the place of publication unless otherwise stated. The edition first mentioned is that from which bibliographical details are given. Anonymous authors have their names inserted for purposes of reference.*

Abbott (*Henry*). Antiquities of Rome. 24 plates by D. Havell and J. Gleadah. Imp. fol., 1820.

Abel (*Clarke*). Narrative of a Journey in the Interior of China. Maps, woodcuts, and 16 plates by T. Fielding, of which 14 are aquatint, after Lieut. I. Cooke, C. Abel, and H. Raper. 4to, 1818.

Account of the Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, with their Imperial and Royal Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias and the King of Prussia, to the Corporation of London in June, 1814. Coloured frontispiece. 4to (1815).

Accum (*Fred.*). Balneology Guide to the Chalybeate Spring of Thetford. 2 folding-plates, of which one is coloured by W. Read after Joseph Wilkinson of Thetford. Sm. 8vo, 1819.

Accurate (An) and Impartial Narrative of the War, by an Officer of the Guards, . . . comprising the Campaigns of 1793, 1794, and the Retreat through Holland to Westphalia in 1795. 6 coloured plates. 2 vols. 8vo, 1796.

Alexander (*Captain James*). Travels to the Seat of War in the East, through Russia and the Crimea, in 1829. 20 plates, of which 9 are aquatint, plain and coloured. 2 vols. 8vo, 1830.

Alexander (*William*). Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Austrians. 50 coloured plates. 4to, 1813.

—— Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Chinese. 50 coloured plates. 4to, 1814.

—— Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the English. 50 coloured plates, probably by J. A. Atkinson. 4to, 1814.

—— Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Russians. 64 coloured plates. 4to, 1814.

—— Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Turks. 60 coloured plates. 8vo, 1814.

Ali Pacha of Jannina (the Life of). Map, line portrait, and folding aquatint frontispiece by J. Clark after Theophilus Richards, jun. 8vo, 2nd edition. 1823.

Algier, Illustration of the Battle of, August 27, 1816. Plan of the town and 3 coloured aquatint plates by Havell after W. I. Pocock. Ob. fol., 1817.

Alken (*Henry*). Memoirs of John Mytton, by Nimrod (pseud. for *C. J. Apperley*). 1st edition, 8vo, 1835, 12 coloured plates; 2nd edition, 1837, 18 coloured plates drawn and etched by H. A. and T. J. Rawlins, aquatinted by E. Duncan. 3rd edition, 1851.

—— National Sports of Great Britain. 50 coloured plates by J. H. Clark after Alken. Fol., 1821.

—— The Life of a Sportsman, by Nimrod (pseud. for *C. J. Apperley*). 36 coloured plates by H. A., many containing aquatint. 8vo, 1842.

—— (pseud. *Ben Tallyho*). The Art and Practice of Etching. 9 plates, of which 4 are aquatint. 8vo, 1849.

Allan (*Captain*). Views in the Mysore Country. 20 plates engraved by Wells, from drawings by Capt. A. Ob. fol., 1794.

Angelo (*Henry*). Hungarian and Highland Broadsword. 24 coloured plates designed and etched by T. Rowlandson, aquatinted by I. Hill. Ob. fol., 1799.

Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette. Plain and coloured plates by Alken, Cruikshank, and others. 13 vols. 8vo, 1822-28.

A. P. D. G. Sketches of Portuguese Life. 20 coloured plates. 8vo, 1826.

Architectural Recreations. Being a Sequel to the Geometrical Recreations. 13 plates, of which 11 are aquatint. 12mo, 2nd edition, 1822.

Aspin (*Jehosaphat*). The Naval and Military Exploits which distinguished the Reign of George the Third. 35 coloured plates. 12mo, 1820.

Atkinson (*James*). An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales. 3 coloured plates. 8vo, 1826.

Atkinson (*John Augustus*). A Picturesque Representation of the Naval, Military and Miscellaneous Costumes of Great Britain. 100 coloured plates by J. A. A. Fol., 1807.

—— The Cutter, in 5 Lectures upon the Art and Practice of cutting Friends and Acquaintances and Relations. 6 coloured plates by J. A. A. 8vo, 1808.

—— Poet, Miser, Virtuoso, Hypochondriac. 4 coloured plates by J. A. A. Fol., 1824.

—— Panoramic View of St Petersburg. 4 coloured plates by J. A. A., 1 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. Ob. fol., 1800.

—— and *Walker* (*James*). A Picturesque Representation of the Manners, Customs, and Amusements of the Russians. 100 coloured plates drawn and etched by J. A. A. 3 vols. fol., 1812.

Audubon (*John James*). The Birds of America. 435 coloured plates engraved, printed, and coloured by R. Havell, after drawings by J. J. A. 4 vols. elephant fol., 1827-38.

Ayton (*Richard*). A Voyage round Great Britain. 308 coloured plates by W. Daniell. 8 vols. fol., 1814-25. Known as Daniell's Voyage round Great Britain.

Bakewell (*Robert*). Travels in the Tarentaise. Woodcuts and 4 coloured plates by J. Clark, from drawings by R. B. 2 vols. 8vo, 1823.

Barker (*B.*). English Landscape Scenery chiefly near Bath. 48 coloured plates by T. H. Fielding. Ob. 4to. Bath, 1824.

Barron (*Captain Richard*). Views in India. 7 coloured plates by R. Havell, after drawings by Capt. R. B. Fol., 1837.

Barrow (*John*). Travels in China. 4 coloured plates by T. Medland, after drawings by W. Alexander. 4to, 1804.

—— Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa. 8 coloured plates engraved by T. Medland, after S. Daniell. 2 vols. 4to, 1806. Issued first in 1801-4 with only 1 aquatint plate.

—— A Voyage to Cochin China in the Years 1792 and 1793. 21 coloured plates by T. Medland, after drawings by W. Alexander and S. Daniell. 4to, 1806.

Beatson (*Major-General Alexander*). Tracts relative to the Island of St Helena. 6 plates by W. Daniell, from drawings by Samuel Davis. 4to, 1816.

—— View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tippoo Sultaun, with Narrative of the Operations of the Army and the Siege of Seringapatam. Folding plates. 4to, 1800.

Beaumont (*Albanis de*). Travels through the Rhetian Alps in the Year 1786. 10 plates. Fol., 1792.

—— Select Views of the Antiquities and Harbours in the South of France. Vignette and 15 plates from drawings by A. de B., of which 12 are aquatint, 2 by S. Alken and 10 by C. Apostool. Fol., 1794.

—— Travels through the Maritime Alps. 18 plates by C. Apostool, from drawings by A. de B. Fol., 1795.

——Travels from France to Italy through the Leopontine Alps. 27 plates, of which 24 are aquatint. Fol., 1806.

Beauties of the Dutch School, Landscapes. 14 plates from Van Goyen, Ostade, Cuyp, etc. Ob. fol., 1793.

Bellasis (*George Hutchins*). Views of St Helena. 6 coloured plates by R. Havell, after drawings by G. H. B. Ob. fol., 1815.

Ben Tallyho. See *H. Alken.*

Benson (*Robert*). Sketches of Corsica, with its History, and Specimens of the Language and Poetry of the People. 5 plates by J. Clark, of which 1 is coloured. 8vo, 1825.

Bentley (*C.*). Picturesque Tour of the River Thames. 24 coloured plates and 2 vignettes by C. Bentley, J. Bailey, J. Fielding, and R. G. Reeve. See also *Westall* (*W.*) and *Owen* (*S.*).

Beresford (*James*). Sixteen Scenes taken from the Miseries of Human Life, by One of the Wretched. Published anonymously. Title and 16 coloured plates by J. A. Atkinson. Sm. ob. 4to, 1807.

—— The Pleasures of Human Life. 5 coloured plates by T. Rowlandson, and 2 frontispieces. 12mo, 1807.

Berry (*William*). History of the Island of Guernsey. Map and 29 plates by J. C. Stadler, after W. B. 4to, 1815.

Blackmantle (*Bernard*) (pseud. of *Charles Molloy Westmacott*). The English Spy. 72 coloured plates by R. Cruikshank, 1 by T. Rowlandson, 1 by T. Wageman, and 1 by G. M. Brighty. 2 vols. 8vo, 1825-6.

Blagdon (*F. W.*). A Brief History of Ancient and Modern India. 68 coloured plates by Daniell, Colonel Ward, Lieut. J. Hunter, and others. These coloured plates were issued separately as Orme's Views of Hindostan and Hunter's Scenery of Mysore. Ob. fol., 1805.

—— Authentic Memoirs of the late George Morland. 21 plates, plain and coloured, of which one only is an aquatint by R. Dodd after George Morland, the rest being in soft ground etching, mezzotint, and stipple. Ob. fol., 1806.

—— History of the Life, Exploits, and Death of Horatio Nelson. 16 plates, of which 8 are aquatint, 4 plain by Pickett after J. Clark, and 4 coloured, 1 by J. Clark and H. Merke after Turner, 1 by J. Godby after W. M. Craig, 1 by J. Clark and J. Hamble after W. Orme, and 1 unsigned. 4to, 1806.

—— An Historical Memento representing the Different Scenes of Public Rejoicing in Celebration of the Glorious Peace of 1814. 6 coloured plates by M. Dubourg, from drawings by J. H. Clark. Fol., 1814.

Book of Landscapes and Ruins. 4 plates. Ob. 4to, 1800.

Bory de St Vincent (*J. B. G. M.*). Voyage to and Travels through the Four Principal Islands of the African Seas. 3 plates. (Phillips' Collection of Voyages and Travels.) 8vo, 1805.

Bowdich (*Thomas Edward*). Mission from Cape Coast Castle and Ashantee. 10 coloured plates. 4to, 1819.

Bowyer (*R.*) [Horne, T. H.]. An Illustrated Record of Important Events in the Annals of Europe. Map and 19 coloured plates. Ob. fol., 1816.

—— An Impartial Historical Narrative of those Momentous Events in this Country between 1816 and 1823. 8 plates, of which 3 are coloured aquatints by M. Dubourg. Fol., 1823.

Boydell's Picturesque Scenery of Norway. See *Tooke* (*William*).

Bradford (*Rev. William*). Sketches of the Country, Character, and Costume in Portugal and Spain. With Supplement. 56 coloured plates from drawings by the Rev. W. B. Fol., 1809-10. Other editions, 1812 and 1813. Issued plain and coloured.

Brayley (*E. Westlake*). Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Theatres of London. 2 plans and 14 plates, drawn and engraved by D. Havell. Issued both plain and coloured. 4to, 1826.

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—— Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence there, 1821, 1822, and 1823. 9 vignettes in line and 11 plates engraved by Edward Finden. 4to, 1824.

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Green (*J. H.*). The Complete Aquatinter. 4 plates, of which 2 are aquatint. 1st edition, sm. 4to, 1804; 3rd edition, 1810.

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Grose (*F. E.*). Antiquarian Repertory. A few unsigned aquatints in the four volumes. 4 vols. 4to, 1807-9.

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Pocock (*Lieut. William Innes*). Five Views of the Island of St Helena and a Concise Account of the Island. 5 coloured plates by T. Sutherland, from drawings by Lieut. W. I. P. Ob. fol., 1815. Another edition, 1845.

—— Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, etc. 32 plates, of which 25 are aquatint. 4to, 1807.

Poetical Magazine. Numerous plates, some of which are aquatint. 4 vols. 8vo, 1809-11.

Porter (*Sir Robert Ker*). Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden. 41 coloured plates by J. C. Stadler, from drawings by R. K. P. Roy. 4to, 1809.

—— Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc. Maps and 87 plates, of which 29 are aquatint, by J. Clark. 2 vols. 4to, 1821.

Portsmouth. Four coloured plates from drawings by W. Heath. Ob. 4to, 1818.

Pouqueville (*François Charles Hugues Lament*). Travels through the Morea and Albania. 2 plates, 1 of which is aquatint. (Phillips' Collection of Voyages and Travels.) 8vo, 1806.

Prior (*James*). A Voyage along the Eastern Coast of Africa. 1 plate. (Phillips' Collection of Voyages and Travels.) 8vo, 1819.

Prout (*Samuel*). Rudiments of Landscape. 64 plates, of which 40 are aquatint, 24 plain, and 16 coloured. Ob. 4to, 1813.

—— A Series of Easy Lessons in Landscape Drawing. 40 plates, including 16 aquatints, of which 8 are coloured. Ob. 4to, 1820.

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Pyne (*William Henry*). Microcosm. 120 plates. 2 vols. ob. fol., 1803-6. Another edition, 1806. Another edition, with 32 plates, parts 1-8, 1822. Issued plaln and coloured.

—— Costume of Great Britain. 60 coloured plates. Fol., 1804. 2nd edition, 4to, 1808.

—— Rudiments of Landscape Drawing. 14 plates, of which 7 are coloured. Ob. 4to, 1812.

—— The Social Club. Parts 1-4. 12 coloured plates by Smart and Hunt, from drawings by W. H. P. Roy. 4to, 1822.

—— History of the Royal Residences. 100 coloured plates. Of the original drawings, 59 were by C. Wild, 25 by J. Stephanoff, 9 by R. Cattermole, 6 by W. Westall, 1 by G. Samuel. Of the plates, 36 were engraved by T. Sutherland, 23 by W. J. Bennett, 28 by R. Reeve, 11 by D. Havell, 2 by J. Baily. 3 vols. 4to, 1819. (Also l.p. copies.)

—— and *W. Combe.* Microcosm of London: or, London in Miniature. 104 coloured plates by T. Rowlandson and A. Pugin, aquatinted by J. Bluck, J. C. Stadler, T. Sutherland, J. Hill, and R. B. Harraden. 3 vols. 4to, 1808-10.

Quiz (*Peter*). Fashionable Bores, or Coolers in High Life. 12 plates by D. T. Egerton. 4to, 1824.

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Ramsay (*Allan*). The Gentle Shepherd. Frontispiece and 12 coloured plates after David Allan. 4to, Glasgow, 1788.

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—— Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton. Vignettes and 10 coloured plates by J. C. Stadler, after H. R. Fol., 1808.

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Simond (*Louis*). Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the Years 1810 and 1811. 21 plates by J. Clark, from drawings by L. S. 2 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1815. Issued both plain and coloured. The edition of 1817 has 5 etchings instead of the aquatints.

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Smyth (*Capt. William Henry, R.N.*). Memoir of the Resources, Inhabitants, and Hydrography of Sicily and its Islands. Map and 14 plates after W. Daniell. 4to, 1824.

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—— Journal of a Party of Pleasure to Paris. 13 plates by J. Hill after drawings by H. W. 8vo, 1802.

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—— The European in India and a brief History of Ancient and Modern India by F. W. Blagdon. 20 coloured plates by J. H. Clark and M. Dubourg after drawings by C. D'Oyly. Large 4to, 1813.

—— An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry from its Formation in 1757 to 1796. 4 coloured plates of costume in stipple and aquatint. 8vo, 1817.

—— Foreign Field Sports, etc., and Supplement of Field Sports of New South Wales. 110 coloured plates by S. Howitt, J. A. Atkinson, J. Clark, F. J. Manskirsch, and others. 4to, 1813-14. 2nd edition, 1819.

Willyams (*Rev. Cooper*). A Voyage up the Mediterranean in H.M.S. Swiftsure. 44 plates, of which 42 are by J. C. Stadler. Fol., 1802.

—— A Selection of Views in Egypt, Palestine, etc. 32 coloured plates by J. C. Stadler. Fol., 1822.

Wilson (*Harriette*). Paris Lions and London Tigers. 12 coloured plates by Findlay. 12mo, 1825.

Wilson (*W. R.*). Travels in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Hanover, Germany, Netherlands, etc. 7 plates. 8vo, 1826.

Wood (*John George*). Views of the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats of Kent. 24 coloured plates by W. Green after J. G. W. Large fol., 1800.

Wood (*William*). Zoography. 61 plates designed and engraved by W. Daniell. 3 vols. 8vo, 1807.

Woodward (*George M.*). An Olio of Good Breeding. 10 coloured plates. 4to, 1791.

Yosy (*A.*). Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Swiss. 50 coloured plates. 2 vols. roy. 8vo, 1815.

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF ENGRAVERS WHOSE NAMES APPEAR ON THE PLATES

Ackermann, Rudolph (1764-1834). His name appears on two plates in *Nelson's Funeral Procession.* See Chapter V.

Alken, Henry (fl. 1816-1831), engraver; earliest works published under the pseudonym of "Ben Tallyho"; engraved chiefly humorous and sporting subjects; left two or three sons to follow in his footsteps as sporting artists, one of whom (Henry, jun.) has often been confused with his father.

Alken, Samuel (fl. 1780-1798), an early master of aquatint; produced plates after Morland, R. Wilkinson, Rowlandson, Wheatley, and others. His original work is comprised in *A New Book of Ornaments*, Rogers' *Views in Cumberland and Westmoreland*, and Broughton's *Views in North Wales.*

Almucco, Theodoro, aquatinted plates to Hamilton's *Remarks on . . . Turkey.*

Apostool, Cornelius (1762-1844), amateur painter and engraver; born at Amsterdam; visited England as a young man; returned to Holland in 1796; director of Museum at Amsterdam, an office which he retained till his death; engraved several single plates, as well as illustrations in aquatint to two of A. de Beaumont's books.

Atkinson, John Augustus (b. 1775), painter and engraver; taken to St Petersburg in 1784; obtained patronage of Empress Catherine; painted many pictures, and prepared plates for books of costume, military subjects, etc.; exhibited at R.A. between 1802 and 1829.

Bailey, John (1750-1819), agriculturist and engraver; successively tutor, surveyor, and land agent to Lord Tankerville; engraved numerous plates; devoted much study to questions of rural economy.

Baxter, George (1781-1858), printer and publisher; invented process of printing in oil colours, as described in chap. ii., and was the first to use an inking roller, invented under his superintendence at Lewes.

Bennett, William James (1787-1844), a pupil of Westall, one of the early school of landscape painters and aquatint engravers; at the age of eighteen enlisted and went to Egypt and thence to Malta; afterwards returned to Mediterranean under Sir James Craig; worked in Florence, Naples, and Rome; went to America, married, and settled in New York, where he executed his principal aquatints; made keeper of National Academy in 1830.

Bentley, Charles, engraver and etcher; alive (according to Nagler) in 1835. Aquatinted plates to several volumes, including his *Picturesque Tour of the River Thames.*

Bluck, J., aquatinted illustrations to fourteen volumes, including drawing-books, travels, and books on architecture.

Boydell, Josiah (1752-1817), nephew, partner, and successor of John Boydell; painter and engraver; exhibited at R.A., 1772-99; Alderman of London and Master of Stationers' Company; aquatinted plates to Webber's *Views in the South Seas.*

Bridgens, R., aquatinted plates to two books of costume.

Brighty, G. M., aquatinted plates to Shepheard's *Vignette Designs.*

Bruce, aquatinted plates to his *Select Views of Brighton.*

Burke, Thomas (1749-1815), chiefly known by his work in mezzotint and stipple; worked on two of the plates in Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1807 and 1812).

Caldwall, James (1739-1807?), a pupil of Sherwin, produced many fine portraits in mezzotint, etc., and aquatinted eight plates to Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1807).

Canton, C. J., aquatinted plates to Johnston's *Travels through the Russian Empire.*

Carr, Sir John (1772-1832), barrister, traveller, engraver, and essayist; being sent abroad for health, published accounts of his Tours, which were mercilessly parodied; knighted *c.* 1806.

Cartwright, T., aquatinted plates to Johnston's *Travels through the Russian Empire* and Pugh's *Cambria Depicta.*

Catton, Charles, jun. (1756-1819), son of Charles Catton the elder; painter and engraver; went on sketching tours through Great Britain; emigrated to America; aquatinted five plates to his own book, *Animals Drawn from Nature.*

Chamberlaine, John (1745-1812), antiquary, succeeded R. Dalton as keeper of the royal drawings and medals in 1791; published two important books of reproductions from the Old Masters, the text to his *Holbein* being written by Edmund Lodge.

Clark, E., aquatinted plates to Nightingale's *Oceanic Sketches.*

Clark, I. or *J.*, aquatinted plates to some thirty volumes, chiefly of travels.

Clark, John Heaviside (1770?-1863), nicknamed 'Waterloo Clark,' from the sketches he made on the battlefield; executed aquatint illustrations to *Gilpin's Day*, *National Sports of Great Britain*, and other important books.

Clarke, J., aquatinted illustrations to *Gil Blas*, Sterne's *Works*, and other books.

Cleghorn, J., aquatinted plates to Nash's *Royal Pavilion at Brighton.*

Cockburn, Maj.-Gen. James Pattison (1778-1847), an artillery officer who illustrated his own works of travel in aquatint and mezzotint.

Cockburn, R., aquatinted the plates to the *Dulwich Gallery.*

Cooper, Richard, jun. (1740?-1814?), went to Paris and worked under Le Bas; exhibited at Incorporated Society of Artists, 1761-64; went to Italy and produced important series of tinted drawings of Rome and the vicinity which gained him the title of the 'English Poussin,' and were engraved in aquatint and published 1778-79, some of the drawings being exhibited at R.A.; published other important works, including two drawings of Windsor afterwards engraved and aquatinted by S. Alken; contributed two plates to Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1807); was still alive in 1814, in which year he engraved plates to Tresham's *Gallery.*

Craig, William Marshall (fl. 1788-1828), said to have been a nephew of James Thomson; draughtsman on wood and fashionable miniature painter; exhibited at R.A., 1788-1827; painter in water-colours to Queen Charlotte, and miniature painter to Duke and Duchess of York; published *Essay on the Study of Nature in Drawing Landscape* and other works; lectured on drawing, painting, and engraving at the Royal Institution; his *Discourses* published in 1821; was still alive in 1828.

Crowquill, Alfred (pseud. of *Forrester, Alfred Henry*) (1804-1872), artist, engraver, and humourist; exhibited pen-and-ink sketches at R.A.; illustrated many books; worked for *Punch* and for his brother Charles Robert Forrester, whose works he often illustrated; twenty-six works written and illustrated by him are enumerated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and thirty-four more to which he supplied the illustrations.

Cruikshank, George (1792-1878), artist and caricaturist, son of Isaac Cruikshank; executed many caricatures and book illustrations; principal works in aquatint are the illustrations to Mudford's *Campaigns in the Netherlands*, Combe's and Ireland's Lives of Napoleon; collaborated with his brother in plates to Pierce Egan's *Life in London*.

Cruikshank, Robert Isaac or *Isaac Robert* (1789-1856), eldest son of Isaac Cruikshank; began life as a midshipman in the E.I.C. service; fell under influence of his younger brother George, and devoted himself to art, at first chiefly miniature painting; made several pictures of Kean and a surreptitious sketch of Mrs Garrick in her ninetieth year; moved to St James's Place, and began to produce caricatures and humorous drawings in the manner of his brother; at least seventeen books were illustrated by him subsequent to 1820, the most famous being those to Westmacott's *English Spy*.

Daniell, Samuel (1775-1811), artist and traveller; sent as secretary to mission to Bechuanaland; exhibited pictures of Oriental scenery at R.A. and Society of Artists; wrote books of travel; died in Ceylon.

Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), landscape painter; went to India with his nephew, William Daniell, 1784; R.A., 1799; published several important works, especially *Oriental Scenery*, often in collaboration with his nephew.

Daniell, William (1769-1837), also a painter and engraver; exhibited views of scenery, English and Oriental, 1795-1837; collaborated with his uncle and produced many important books, notably *A Voyage round Great Britain*, by R. Ayton.

Dawe, Henry Edward (1790-1848), son of Philip Dawe the mezzotint engraver, and younger brother of George Dawe, the R.A. satirised by Charles Lamb; began life as a mezzotinter; exhibited portraits at the Society of British Artists, sending seventy-two works to the annual exhibitions between 1824 and 1845, as well as at the R.A. and British Institute; employed by Turner on the *Liber Studiorum*, for which he engraved four plates.

Dodd, Robert (1748-1816?), chiefly known as marine painter and engraver; had attained some celebrity by 1771, though his first appearance as an exhibitor at Society of Artists was in 1780; exhibited R.A., 1782-1809; painted many famous and important naval pictures, many of them being engraved in line or aquatint by himself and others; executed a few aquatint book illustrations.

Douglas, Rev. James, aquatinted some of the plates to his own *Nenia Britannica.*

Dubourg, M. (fl. 1786-1820), "an English draughtsman, who in 1820 published *Views of the Remains of Ancient Buildings in Rome and its Vicinity*, with coloured engravings. A picture of the *Chain Pier at Brighton* was issued in 1824 by an artist of this name, whether the same person or not we do not know" (Nagler). M. Dubourg exhibited three miniatures at the R.A., 1786-1808, and aquatinted many important works.

Duncan, Edward (1804-1882), painter, engraver, and lithographer; began life as a pupil of R. Havell. In 1831 became a member of the New Society of Painters in Water-Colours, and in 1849 an Associate of the Old Water-Colour Society. Some of his aquatints appeared in John Scott's *Sportsman's Repository.* After his death his works were sold at Christie's.

Dunkarton, Robert (1744-181-?), mezzotint engraver; a pupil of Pether; awarded premium by Society of Arts, 1762; began exhibiting as portrait painter 1768; engraved after West, Reynolds, and others, after whom he engraved one of the plates to Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1807), and two in the 1812 ed.

Earlom, Richard (1743-1822), engraver; pupil of Cipriani, whose paintings induced him to become an artist; engraved three plates in Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1807), and a very fine *Collection of Prints after . . . Cipriani*; also executed prints after Claude.

Edy, John William, a Dane, executed engravings after Pollard's seascapes and two aquatints of racing subjects; exhibited seven landscapes in London, 1785-1807; executed the plates to Boydell's book on Norway and other works.

Egerton, D. T. (?-1842), landscape painter and engraver; foundation member of Society of British Artists, exhibiting with them in 1824, 1829, 1838, and 1840; gained some fame towards the end of his life from pictures of Mexican life and scenery; murdered in Mexico, 1842. Illustrated *Quiz Fashionable Bores.*

Elmes aquatinted one plate to Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1807).

Fellowes, W. D., aquatinted plates to Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster* and published Visit to Monastery of La Trappe.

Fielding, John (1758?-1790?), engraver; pupil of Ryland and Bartolozzi; best works produced 1780-90; also aquatinted plates to a few books.

Fielding, Newton Smith (1799-1856), youngest son of N. T. Fielding, painter and engraver; worked chiefly in water-colour, but also in etching, aquatint and lithography; drawing-master to the family of Louis Philippe; published several drawing-books; lived most of his life in Paris, where he died.

Fielding, Theodore Henry Adolphus (1781-1851), elder brother of above; drawing master at the Military College, Addiscombe; first exhibited at R.A. as a boy of eighteen; worked in stipple and aquatint; illustrated several important works of travel and books on art.

Finden, Edward Francis (1791-1857), younger brother and coadjutor of William Finden, and, like him, apprenticed to the engraver James Mitan; chiefly worked as a line-engraver on the fashionable annuals, books of beauty, etc., but executed plates to Maria Graham's (Lady Callcott's) books of travel and other works.

Findlay, illustrated Little's *Confessions of an Oxonian* and Harriette Wilson's *Paris Lions*.

Forrester, Alfred Henry, see *Crowquill, Alfred*.

Francia, Louis, aquatinted the plates to his work, *Imitations of Studies of Landscapes by Gainsborough, &c.*

Fry, William Thomas (1789-1843), engraver; worked chiefly in stipple; engraved four of the portraits in Fisher's *National Portrait Gallery*, portraits after John Jackson, R.A., and eleven plates in Jones' *National Gallery;* occasionally exhibited at Suffolk Street exhibition. Illustrated Orme's *Historic Anecdotes*.

Gardnor, Rev. James (1729-1808), originally a drawing-master and teacher of calligraphy; frequently exhibited with the Free Society of Artists, and in 1767 received a premium from the Society of Arts; took Orders, and in 1778 was instituted to the vicarage of Battersea, which he held till his death; from 1782-96 a frequent exhibitor at the R.A.; published two very early books with aquatint engravings. See account of him in Gilchrist's *Life of Blake* and in *Somerset House Gazette*, ii. p. 65.

Gaugain, Thomas (1748-18 ?), born at Abbeville, worked in London first as a pupil of Houston, afterwards independently, chiefly on a large scale; aquatinted one of the plates to the 1812 edition of Thornton's *Temple of Flora*.

Gillray, James (1757-1815), son of a trooper, who apprenticed his son to one Ashly, a letter-engraver 'at the bottom of Holborn-hill,' which made Gillray say afterwards that "the early part of his life might be compared to the spider's, busied in spinning of lines"; rebelling against his master, he ran away and joined a company of strolling players; returned to London and became a student of the R.A.; he is believed to have worked under Ryland and Bartolozzi, and produced original engravings of great merit, in which, as in his early caricatures, he used many pseudonyms, *J. Kent, J. Hurd*, and even *James Sayer;* earliest known work a caricature of Lord North, dated 12th June 1769; earliest print bearing his name, dated March 4th, 1779; produced in all some 1500 drawings; every social and political crisis, every movement in public opinion, every important person, male or female, appears in his work, which deserves high admiration, though its qualities of ferocity and coarseness are at times almost incredible; was particularly happy in use of literary allusions; extraordinary stories told of his facility of design and execution; died in his dotage at Miss Humphrey's shop in St James's Street, where he had lived and published for many years; buried in the churchyard of St James's, Piccadilly.

Gilpin, William (1724-1804), schoolmaster, author, and aquatint engraver, descendant of Bernard and brother of Sawrey Gilpin; kept schools at Cheam and elsewhere managed on advanced lines; vicar of Boldre, 1777; published numerous biographies and religious works, and eight works illustrated in aquatint, expounding his theories of the 'picturesque' and heralding the return to Nature of the Lake School.

Gleadah, Joshua (fl. 1816-1836), produced aquatints for books by Johnston and Varley in 1816 and 1817; as late as 1836 executed an aquatint of Brighton; no personal details known.

Godby, James (fl. 1790-1815), stipple engraver, working in London; earliest known work dated 1791; principal work the preparation of the illustrations for the *Fine Arts of the English School* and some aquatints for Howitt's *Collection of British Field Sports*. In 1810 Godby was living at 25 Norfolk Street; no other personal details known.

Green, William (1761-1823), born at Manchester; practised as a surveyor in the North; came to London to study engraving; returned to the North and settled in Lake District, of which he aquatinted many views.

Hall, J., aquatinted plates to Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*.

Hamble, J., aquatinted plates to Blagdon's *Nelson*, Combe's *Westminster Abbey*, and other books.

Hardie, aquatinted illustrations to Repton's *Sketches on Landscape Gardening* and Lugar's *Architectural Sketches*.

Hardy, J., executed plates to his own *Tour in the Pyrenees*.

Harraden, Richard Bankes (1778-1862), son of Richard Harraden, artist and engraver; executed four aquatints for Girtin's *Views of Paris* illustrations for his father's *Cantabrigia Depicta*, and in 1830 published a third book on the subject, *Illustrations of the University of Cambridge*, containing 34 new views as well as 24 of those in the earlier book; member of Society of British Artists, 1824-1849.

Hassell, John (d. 1825), water-colour painter and engraver; friend and biographer of Morland; produced aquatint illustrations to some eleven books, including two drawing-books.

Havell, Daniel, aquatinted plates to numerous important works on topography and architecture, including Combe's *Histories of the Universities and Colleges*.

Havell, Robert, sen. (fl. 1800-1840), engraver and art publisher; executed many important works in aquatint, notably Audubon's *Birds of America*.

Havell, Robert, jun. (fl. 1820-1850), painter and engraver, collaborated with his father in several topographical books.

Havell, W., aquatinted plates to his *Views of the Thames*.

Hawkins, G., aquatinted plates to Varley's *Precepts for Design in Landscape*.

Heath, Charles (1785-1848), engraver; youngest son of James Heath the engraver; worked chiefly on steel after other artists, in Books of Beauty, engravings to Scott's novels, etc.; aquatinted 1 plate in Westall's *Victories of the Duke of Wellington*.

Heath, William, Captain of Dragoons. Drew the originals of the plates to Jenkins' *Martial Achievements* and many of those to Orme's *Historic Military and Naval Anecdotes*. Seems also to have engraved those to his own poem *On the Life of a Soldier*. He also produced many sets of plates without text, the last about 1830.

Heideloff, Nicolas Wilhelm v. (1761-1838?), engraver; pupil of Gotthardt and Müller; went to Paris under the auspices of Duke Charles of Stuttgart; patronised by Louis XVI.; fled to England at the Revolution, and remained there for nearly 30 years; in 1815 made director of Hague Gallery; executed many important aquatint plates, publishing chiefly in London.

Hill, John, aquatint and mezzotint engraver, who produced some good plates of Lake views after Charles Dibdin; according to *Somerset House Gazette*, ii. p. 65, was in 1824 living in America.

Hill, R., collaborated with J. Hill in the illustrations to Roche's *Sketches in Flanders.*

Hodges, William (1744-1797), landscape painter; draughtsman to Captain Cook's second expedition, 1772-75; exhibited at Society of Artists and Academy, 1766 onwards; went to India, and was patronised by Warren Hastings, 1778-84; R.A., 1789; visited St Petersburg, 1790; published *Travels in India*, 1793.

Hopwood, James, sen. (1752?-1819), a self-taught engraver; after 1797 worked with James Heath; secretary to the Artists' Fund; worked on two of the plates to Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1807).

Howitt, Samuel (1765?-1822), artist and engraver, brother-in-law of Rowlandson; self-taught; distinguished for skill in drawing animals and hunting scenes; exhibited R.A., 1783-94 and 1814-15; during most of intervening period lived in Bengal making studies of animals and wild sports; returning to England, published several important books, himself aquatinting many plates; three of his pictures in Victoria and Albert Museum.

Hughes, S. G., aquatinted plates to Bury's *Views on Liverpool and Manchester Railway.*

Hunt, George, aquatinted plates to four of Egerton's books and other humorous works, Grindlay's *Scenery of India*, and other volumes on Oriental subjects.

Hunter, Lieut. J., an English officer who won distinction as a landscape painter, and in conjunction with Richard Daniell produced *A Brief History of Ancient and Modern India.*

Ibbetson, Julius Cæsar (1759-1817), son of a Moravian, brought up as Moravian and Quaker; apprenticed to a ship-painter at Hull; in 1777 came to London and got work from a picture-dealer; exhibited at R.A., 1785 onwards, and, getting into good society, was offered and accepted a post in Colonel Cathcart's Embassy to China; on his return, was unable to obtain remuneration, and got into debt; in 1794, having lost wife and eight of eleven children, had brain fever; was robbed of all his possessions; like his friend, George Morland, sought relief in dissipation; fled to Liverpool; lived in retirement in Westmoreland and Scotland, and found many patrons, to one of whom, Lady Keith Lindsay, he dedicated his only book, *An Accidence or Gamut of Oil Painting for Beginners*; in 1801 married again, and eventually settled in Yorkshire, where he died; his cattle pieces and landscapes earned him from Benjamin West the title of the "Berghem of England"; worked

also in etching and aquatint; with Morland and Rathbone formed "that triumvirate of eccentricity, tomfoolery and talent" referred to in the *Somerset House Gazette.*

Ireland, Samuel (d. 1800), author and engraver; etched plates after Hogarth and others; published several volumes of picturesque travels; collected works of Hogarth; issued *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth* from rare prints in his own collection; father of W. H. Ireland, the Shakespearean forger, and believer in his honesty, in support of which he published pamphlets.

Jeakes, Joseph, painter and engraver; exhibited pictures of the Battle of Trafalgar and other naval subjects, 1806; aquatinted illustrations to two volumes of antiquities, Thorn's *Conquest of Java* and Spilsbury's *Scenery in the Holy Land.*

Jones, T., aquatinted some plates to the *London Singer's Magazine and Singer's Album.*

Josi, Christian, a Dutch engraver and printseller working in London, first as a pupil of Bartolozzi; married the daughter of J. J. Chalon and returned to Amsterdam; in 1818 returned to London and put up his collection of engravings to auction; in 1821 issued his masterpiece *Collection d'Imitations de Desseins,* a continuation of the work of C. Ploos van Amstel.

Jukes, Francis (1747-1812), engraver in etching and aquatint; chiefly worked on topographical prints; described in the *Gent.'s Mag.* (vol. lxxxii. p. 300) as "if not the inventor, certainly the first that brought it [aquatint] to a degree of perfection"; when "upon the point of establishing a good exportation trade to Basil in Switzerland, that curse of nations, the French Revolution, broke out, which blasted all his prospects of a lucrative connexion in that profession, as it did those of that respectable Artist, Mr Valentine Green"; at one period worked in concert with R. Pollard, but more often independently; only aquatint book illustrations those to Plaw's *Rural Architecture.*

Kearnan, Thomas, aquatinted some plates to Nash's *Royal Pavilion at Brighton.*

Landseer, Thomas (1795-1880), A.R.A., author and engraver; eldest son of John Landseer; chiefly line engraver and etcher, but did a little work in aquatint; wrote a Life of Bewick; only aquatint book illustrations those to Rabelais' *Eloisa and Abelard,* and one of the plates in Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1807).

Lane, Theodore (1800-1828), son of a drawing-master; apprenticed to one J. Barrow; exhibited water-colour portraits and miniatures at R.A. and elsewhere; turned to humorous subjects, and published book illustrations and sets of sporting prints; in 1825 took up oil-painting with some success; died by an accident in 1828.

Le Keux, Henry (1787-1868), younger brother of John le Keux, the associate of Pugin; apprenticed to James Basire the younger, and worked on the *Oxford Almanacs* and plates for the Society of Antiquaries; worked on architectural drawings with his brother; engraved for *Annuals,* 1820-40; gave up art in 1838 and became a manufacturer; only aquatint book illustrations some plates in Nash's *Royal Pavilion.*

Lewis, Frederick Christian (1779-1856), pupil of J. C. Stadler and a student at the R.A.; aquatinted most of Girtin's *Views of Paris;* engraved illustrations to famous books of reproductions from the Old Masters; painted landscapes, and published books on English scenery; executed aquatints to some sixteen books, and collaborated with his brother on others. (See below.)

Lewis, George Robert (1782-1871), painter and engraver, younger brother of the foregoing; studied under Fuseli at the R.A.; exhibited at R.A., 1805-7; worked on Ottley's *School of Design* with his brother; invited to accompany Dr Dibdin on continental journey in 1818, and illustrated his *Bibliographical and Picturesque Tour through France and Germany;* from 1820-59 was constantly exhibiting pictures of all sorts at all the exhibitions; his published works range from anatomy to ancient fonts and elementary education; he and his brother (see above) executed aquatint illustrations to some twenty-two books.

Luilly, worked on the plates of Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1812).

Mackenzie, Frederick (1788?-1854), water-colour painter and topographical draughtsman; exhibited at R.A., 1804-28; executed aquatints for Whitaker's *Abbeys and Castles of Yorkshire.*

Maddox or *Maddocks*, executed four plates to Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1812), and aquatinted the plates to Meyrick's *Critical Enquiry into Ancient Armour.*

Maile, G. (18—?-184-?), aquatint engraver; executed numerous prints, chiefly after French artists, as well as a few aquatint illustrations to Vidal's *Buenos Ayres and Monte Video*; alive in 1839.

Malton, James (d. 1803), author and architectural draughtsman; aquatinted illustrations to several books; wrote drawing-books and essays on architecture.

Malton, Thomas (1748-1804), brother of the above; architectural draughtsman; principal work, *Picturesque Tour through London and Westminster.*

Manskirsch, Franz Josef (or J. F.) (1770-1827), born at Cologne, where he distinguished himself as landscape painter and engraver; from 1796-1805 worked in England; worked also at Bonn, Frankfort, Berlin, and Dantzic; commissioned by Empress Josephine to paint views on the Rhine; aquatinted many book illustrations, chiefly for Ackermann's publications.

Marks. This name appears on some plates in *Real Life in Ireland.*

Medland, Thomas (?-1833), landscape painter and topographical engraver; occasional exhibitor at R.A., up to 1822; in his later years drawing-master at Haileybury; published work ranges from 1789-1805; aquatinted illustrations to some ten books by Barrow, Carr, Gell, and others, including one plate to the 1807 *Temple of Flora;* engraved illustrations to Stothard's *Robinson Crusoe.*

Merigot, J., draughtsman and engraver; worked in Paris *c.* 1772, and gave lessons there in drawing to Pugin family; still working in Paris, 1791; came over to England and established himself as a drawing-master, and produced very fine aquatint illustrations to drawing-books, books of travel, costume and natural history.

Merke, H., painter and engraver; born at Niederweningen, in Canton Zürich; worked in London *c.* 1800-20; aquatinted illustrations to several books, and sea pieces after Atkins.

Milton, Thomas (1743-1827), son of John Milton, the marine painter, and great-nephew of the poet; from his style believed to have been a pupil of Woollett, but nothing is known of his work earlier than his *Views of Seats in Ireland*, engraved after Ashford, Wheatley, etc., in 1783; illustrated Shakespeare; engraved plates in Ottley's *Stafford House Gallery;* in 1801 produced aquatints to Mayer's *Views in Egypt;* governor of the Society of Engravers (1803).

Moore, C., executed plates to Nash's *Royal Pavilion.*

Morton, H., published his own *Views of Hastings*, and aquatinted the illustrations to Robson's *Scenery of the Grampian Mountains.*

Moses, Henry (1782-1870), worked chiefly as an outline engraver; earliest work West's *Gallery*, which was followed by many others after originals ranging from Canova to Retsch; one of the artists attached to the British Museum; aquatinted illustrations to Broughton's *Costume of the Mahrattas.*

Nash, Frederick (1782-1856), water-colour painter and architectural draughtsman; student of R.A. and fellow-pupil of the younger Thos. Morton exhibited at R.A., 1800-47, and at Society of Painters in Water Colours, 1810-56; admired by Turner; aquatinted illustrations of the *Pavilion.*

Neale, John Preston (1780-1847; some authorities say 1770 or 1771), naturalist and architectural draughtsman; began by drawing insects; searching for specimens in Hornsey Wood at sixteen, met John Varley; the two projected a joint work on Natural History, of which one number only appeared; began in 1797 to exhibit at R.A., working meanwhile as a Post-Office clerk; continued to exhibit at R.A. and elsewhere until 1844, working in oil and water-colour; his name is found on many of the finest plates in Smith's *History and Antiquities of Westminster*, and his own *Views of Country Seats*, for which he executed over 700 drawings.

Neele, executed plates to Forbin's *Travels in Greece* and Walsh's *Campaign in Egypt.*

Parkyns, G. J., executed the plates to Moore's *Monastic Remains of Ancient Castles* and *Monastic and Baronial Remains.*

Peake, R. B., executed most of the plates to *Costume Caractéristique de France.*

Pickett, executed plates to Blagdon's *Nelson*, Girtin's *Paris Views*, and Loutherbourg's *Romantic Scenery of England and Wales.*

Platt, aquatinted plates to *Tristram Shandy.*

Prout, Samuel (1783-1852), painter in water-colour; born and educated at Plymouth; formed friendship with B. R. Haydon, two years his junior; the two witnessed loss of an East Indiaman, which suggested the first picture of each; Prout met John Britton, then collecting material for his *Beauties of England and Wales*, and they went (1801) for a walking tour in Cornwall, Prout's sketches proving complete failures; exhibited at R.A., 1803, his prices then ranging from 3s. each to £5 the dozen; lived in Devonshire 1805-1812; returned to town and became drawing-master; worked 1813-21 for Ackermann; first visited Continent, 1818, and found his inspiration in the buildings of foreign towns; exhibited

547 works at Water Colour Society between 1815 and 1832; from 1845-52 near neighbour and friend of Ruskin who much admired his work.

Pugh, Edward (17?- 1813), miniature painter and architectural draughtsman; exhibited, R.A., 1793-1821; made drawings for *Modern London*, etc.; only aquatints those to Wigstead's *Tour to N. and S. Wales.*

Pugin, Augustus Charles (1762-1832), architect, draughtsman, and antiquary; born in France; came to London *c.* 1798; employed by Nash to draw Gothic buildings; led Gothic revival; trained young architects, including his famous son; most famous work to be found on the plates to Pyne's *Microcosm of London.*

Pyall, H., executed numerous racing prints, and plates to Moore's *Burmese War* and Bury's *Views on Liverpool and Manchester Railway.*

Pyne, William Henry (1769-1843), writer, painter, and engraver; first exhibited at R.A., 1790, worked much for Ackermann as author and artist; invented new method of illustration in his *Microcosm*, in which numerous small groups of figures were engraved and tinted by hand; about 1820 abandoned art for literature, and produced important works of art, gossip, and literary anecdote under the name of Ephraim Hardcastle.

Quilley, J. P., engraver; executed important single plates after Rembrandt, Turner, Bonington, and others, and five of the plates to Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1812); still alive in 1842.

Rawlins, T. J., aquatinted plates to Alken's *Memoirs of John Mytton.*

Read, W., executed plates to two books of travels and one or two humorous books, including *Adventures of Johnny Newcome.*

Reeve, A. W., collaborated with R. G. Reeve in the plates to Phillips' *Practical Treatise on Drawing.*

Reeve, R. G., executed plates to eleven volumes, including treatises on art, books of travel in India and the West Indies, and works on topography and architecture, including Combe's *Histories of the Universities.*

Reinhardt, Johann Christian (1761-1847), a Franconian by birth, son of a pastor; went to Leipsic at the age of 17 to study theology; relinquished it for art, and won the favour of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, and later, in 1789, that of the Margrave of Anspach, who sent him to Rome; became one of the leaders of the "Regeneration" of German art; in 1825 painted eight landscapes in tempera in the Villa Massimi; others for Ludwig of Bavaria (1826); his aquatint engravings are of great importance, Nagler enumerates no less than 173.

Richardson, George (1736?-1817?), architect and engraver; 1760-63, travelled in Mediterranean, studying remains of ancient architecture; on his return to England achieved some success; by 1765 gained a premium from the Society of Arts; decorated buildings in antique style, and published some eleven volumes on antique decoration as applied to modern buildings between 1774 and 1816, most of them illustrated in aquatint, on some of which his son also worked; fell into distress, and was often assisted—*mirabile dictu*—by Nollekens; last known date on a work of his, 1816.

Richardson, Thomas Miles (1784-1848), engraver and landscape painter; began to exhibit at R.A., 1818; member of New Water Colour Society; aquatinted plates to *Architectural Antiquities of Northumberland.*

Roberts, Percy, executed plates to Sterne's *Sentimental Journey.*

Roffe, John (1769-1850), chiefly worked on architectural subjects for booksellers; engraved five plates for Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1812).

Rooke, H., aquatinted plates to Rev. J. Douglas' *Nenia Britannica.*

Rosenberg, Michael, engraver, working in England 1816-1843; aquatinted illustrations to several books on architecture, as well as single plates.

Rouse, J., executed plates to Mudford's *Campaign in the Netherlands.*

Rowlandson, Thomas (1756-1827), artist, etcher, and caricaturist; studied at R.A. and in Paris; first exhibited at R.A., 1775; settled in London, 1777, and painted portraits and social scenes; developed powers of caricature, 1781; published many single plates and many illustrations to books, the most famous those to *Dr Syntax*, though the Combe-Rowlandson alliance produced other books almost as good; his most restrained work executed for Ackermann; 24 books in all illustrated by him in aquatint.

Sandby, Paul (1725-1809), water-colour painter and engraver; born at Nottingham; held appointment in Military Survey at the Tower, 1741; assisted in survey of Highlands after the insurrection of '45; published book illustrations and caricatures; exhibited at Society of Artists, 1760-68, and became its director, 1765; chief drawing-master at Woolwich Academy, 1768-97; foundation member, R.A., 1768; exhibited 1769 and 1809; distinguished as topographical artist; introduced "aquatinta" into England, 1774.

Sanson, jun., executed plates to Gell's *Itinerary of Greece.*

Sayer, or Sayers, James (1748-1823), political caricaturist and engraver; born at Yarmouth; articled to an attorney; came to London, *c.* 1780; gave full scope to his bent for social and political caricature; taking the side of Pitt and the Constitution, his attacks on Fox and the republican party proved invaluable to Government, and Fox declared that they did him more harm than all the attacks of Parliament and the press; rewarded with a clerkship of the Exchequer and other posts; about 100 of his plates known; only aquatint book illustrations those to *Foundling Chapel Brawl.*

Segard, aquatinted some of the plates to Rosenberg's *Picturesque Views . . . in Paris.*

Shury, T., aquatinted plates to F. Accum's *Guide to Chalybeate Spring of Thetford.*

Smart, executed plates to Cox's *Views of Bath* and Pyne's *Social Club.*

Stadler, Joseph Constantine, only known as a German engraver working chiefly in England, *c.* 1780-1820, mainly after the designs of other artists; produced aquatint illustrations to some 31 books, including four plates to the 1807 edition of Thornton's *Temple of Flora* and five to that of 1812, many among the finest ever executed.

Stoker, W., aquatinted the plates to James Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*, after drawings by the author.

Stothard, Charles Alfred (1786-1821), second son of Thos. Stothard, R.A.; student, R.A., 1807; first exhibited, 1811, *Murder of Richard II.*, notable for strict accuracy in costumes; won reputation as antiquarian draughtsman; employed by Society of Antiquaries on drawings of Bayeux Tapestry, 1816-18; in 1821 went down to Devonshire to execute drawings for Lyson's *Magna Britannia*; fell from a ladder in Bere Ferrers Church, and was killed.

Sutherland, Thomas (*c.* 1785-18?), engraver; worked in London, chiefly in aquatint, on topographical plates and sporting scenes; executed aquatints to 20 volumes, including two plates in Thornton's *Temple of Flora* (1807); best-known of the single plates "Nord country at the Peakock, Islington" (Nagler), otherwise "Departure of the Northern Mail from the Peacock Tavern, Islington"; also aquatinted *A Panoramic View of the City of Rome* by Thos. Shew, 1825.

Testard, François Martin, a French painter and engraver and pupil of Suvée, working in Paris; aquatinted some of the plates to Rosenberg's *Picturesque Views in Paris*; still alive in 1830.

Testolini, G., aquatinted plates to his own *Rudiments of Drawing Flowers.*

Timms, aquatinted *Twelve Views of Reading* (1823).

Tingle, James, steel engraver, aquatinted some plates to Nash's *Royal Pavilion*; still living in 1848.

Tomkins, Charles (1750?-1805?), eldest son of W. Tomkins, A.R.A., born in London *c.* 1750; in 1776 awarded a premium for topographical picture by Society of Arts; exhibited 15 landscapes at R.A., 1773-79, many of which he engraved; illustrated several books, 1796-1805, after which he disappears from view.

Tomkins, Peltro William (1759-1840), younger brother of the above; apprenticed to Bartolozzi and became one of his best pupils; in 1793 appointed engraver to Queen Charlotte; drawing-master to the princesses; carried on business as print publisher in Bond Street, publishing Ottley's *Original Designs of the Most Celebrated Masters*, and Tresham's *British Gallery of Pictures*, which involved him in financial difficulties; like Boydell, disposed of his property by auction; aquatinted illustrations to Gell's *Ithaca.*

Turner, Charles (1774-1857), engraver; exhibited at R.A., 1810-57; executed aquatint plates to a dozen books; most famous, however, for his mezzotint plates to J. M. W. Turner's *Liber Studiorum.*

Vivares, Thomas (1735-1810?), engraver; son and assistant of François Vivares; aquatinted plates to Howitt's *Field Sports* and Spilsbury's *Holy Land.*

Wageman, T. His name appears on one plate in Blackmantle's *English Spy.*

Ward, Col., aquatinted some plates to Blagdon's *Ancient and Modern India.*

Ward, W. (1766-1826), A.R.A., mezzotint and aquatint engraver; apprenticed to J. R. Smith; first exhibited at R.A., 1795; executed two plates to the 1807 edition of Thornton's *Temple of Flora*; mezzotint engraver to the Prince Regent and Duke of York.

Warner, aquatinted three of the plates to the 1807 edition of Thornton's *Temple of Flora.*

Watts, William (1752-1851), son of a master weaver ; received art education from Paul Sandby and E. Rooker ; first independent publication, *Seats of the Nobility and Gentry* (1779-86) ; being ardently in favour of French Revolution, went to Paris, 1793, where some of his plates for *Country Seats* were engraved by Guyot ; lost his property in the French Funds, and resumed engraving ; only aquatint book illustrations by him those to Mayer's *Views in Turkey* ; became blind and died in retirement, aged nearly 100.

Weiber, S., aquatinted *A Panoramic View of the Alps.*

Wells, J. G., executed numerous views of English scenery in aquatint after S. Ireland and others ; executed plates to Allan's *Views in the Mysore Country.*

Westall, William (1781-1850), topographical painter and engraver, younger brother of Richard Westall, R.A. ; draughtsman to Flinders' Australian expedition, 1801-5 ; travelled also in China, India, Madeira, and the West Indies, many drawings of which were exhibited ; A.R.A., 1812 ; executed many topographical prints ; aquatinted illustrations to six books of English and one of Spanish scenery.

Wild, Charles (1781-1835), water-colour painter and engraver ; apprenticed to Thos. Malton ; prominent member and official of Old Water-Colour Society ; executed many pictures and aquatint engravings of French and English Cathedrals.

Williams, C., executed aquatint engravings to Johnston's *Travels in the Russian Empire.*

Woodman, Richard (1784-1859), son of an engraver of same name ; pupil of Meadows the stipple engraver ; worked as engraver, miniaturist, and painter in water-colours, and exhibited twenty-one portraits at R.A., 1820-1850 ; in 1808 engaged by Wedgwood to superintend engraving department at Etruria, but soon gave it up and returned to town ; engraved sporting and other plates and many book illustrations, only one series being in aquatint, viz., Frankland's *Shooting.*

Woolnoth, Thomas (1785-183 ?), engraver ; a pupil of C. Heath, executed one of the aquatint plates to the 1807 edition of Thornton's *Temple of Flora.*

Wright, J. H., executed aquatint engravings to Gell's *Ithaca* and *Itinerary.*

Ziegler, Conrad (1770?-1810?), born at Zürich ; pupil of Conrad Gessner ; came to England and executed some rare aquatint engravings and the illustrations to Gesner's *Military Evolutions.*

APPENDIX C

ARTISTS WHOSE NAMES APPEAR ON THE PLATES

ABBOTT, Hon. C.
Abel, C.
Alexander, W.
Alken, S.
Allan, Capt.
Allan, D.
Atkinson, J. A.
Audubon, J. J.

BAKEWELL, R.
Barber, T.
Barron, Capt. R.
Beaumont, A. de
Bell.
Bellasis, G. H.
Berry, W.
Blake, C.
Bluck, J.
Bonington, R. P.
Bradford, Rev. W.
Bridgens, R.
Broughton, Rev. B.
Brown, W.
Browne, J.
Bruce.
Bryant, J.
Buck, A.
Bullock, W.
Burchell, W. J.
Bury, Mrs E.
Bury, T. T.

CALLCOTT, A. W.
Calvert, F.
Campbell, Rev. J.
Caracci, A. A. and L.
Carr, Sir J.
Cassas, L. F.
Cattermole, R.
Catton, C.
Clark, J.
Clark, J. H.
Clark, W.
Cockerell, C. R.
Colebrook, R. H.
Collings, S.
Collins, W.
Compton.
Cooke, Lieut. I.
Cox, D.
Craig, W. M.
Crewe, Emma

DANIELL, S.
Daniell, T.
Daniell, W.
Davenport, W.
Davis, S.
Dearn, T. D. W.
Deen Alee
Denon
De Wint, P.
Dibdin, C.
Dibdin, Miss
Dodd, R.
D'Oyley, C.
Dwarris, W. H.

E., C. L.
Earle, A.
Earlom, R.
Eben, Major Baron
Eckstein, J. E.
Edridge, H.
Edy, J. W.
Egerton, M.
Elsam, R.
Elmes, J.
Estcourt, T. H. S. B.

FARINGTON, J.
Feary, I.
Fellowes, W. D.
Fielding, C. V.
Fielding, T. H. A.
Fitzclarence, G.
Forbes, J.
Forrest, C. R.
Fox, C.
Frankland, Capt. C. C.
Frankland, Sir R.

GANDY, J.
Gainsborough, T.
Gardnor, Rev. J.
Gell, W.
Gendall, J.
Gilpin, W.
Girtin, T.
Gold, Capt. C.
Graham, Maria
Green, J.
Green, W.
Grindlay, Capt. R. M.

HAKEWILL, J.
Hamilton, C. C.
Hardy, J.
Harley, G.
Harraden, R.
Hassell, J.
Havell, R.
Havell, W.
Haygarth, W.
Hayman, F.
Heath, W.
Heriot, G.
Hills, R.
Hodges, W.
Hofland, T.
Hogarth, W.
Hoppner, T.
Howitt, S.
Huett.
Hulley, T.
Hutton, W.

IBBETSON, J. C.
Ireland, S.
Ireland, W. H.
Isabey, E.

JACKSON, J. G.
James, J. T.
Johnson, J.
Johnston, R.
Jones, Capt. G.
Jones, R.

KNELL, W.

LANDMANN, G.
Lane, T.
Laporte, J.
Lavrof.
Legh, T.
Lewis, F. C.
Lory, J. and J.
Loutherbourg, P. J. de
Lugar, R.

MACKENZIE, F.
M'Leod, J.
Malton, J.
Malton, T.
Manskirsch, J. F.
Marryat, Capt.
Marshall, T. F.
Mayer, L.
M'Quin.
Merigot, J.
Mitford, J.
Moore, J.
Morier, J.
Morland, G.
Mornay.
Morris, R.
Morton, H.
Muys, C.

NASH, F.
Nattes, J. C.
Nicholson, F.
Nightingale, T.
Noble, J. R.

ORME, D.
Orme, W.
Owen, S.

PARKYNS, G. J.
Peake, R. B.
Phillips, G. F.
Plaw, J.
Pocock, Lt. W. Innes
Porter, R. K.
Prout, S.
Pugh, E.
Pugin, A.
Pugin, C. A.
Pyne, W. H.

RAPER, H.
Rawlins, H. A.
Rawlins, T. J.
Repton, H.
Richards, T., jun.
Richardson, G.
Richardson, T. M.
Robson, G. F.
Roche, H.
Rogers, B.
Rosenberg, M.
Ross, Capt. J.
Rouse, J.
Rowlandson, T.

SALT, H.
Salviati, G.
Samuel, G.
Sandby, P.
Schütz, M.
Segard.
Semple, Miss
Serres, D. and J. T.
Shepheard, G.
Simond, L.
Singleton
Smirke, R.
Smith, C. H.
Smith, C. Loraine
Smith, Col. H.
Smith, J.
Smith, J. E.
Smith, Capt. R.
Spilsbury, J. B.
St Clair, T. S.
Stephanoff, J.
Stubbs, G.
Stothard, C.
Svinine, P.

TEMPLE, Lt. R.
Testard, F. M.
Testolini, G.
Thurston, J.
Turner, C.
Turner, J. M. W.
Tomkins, C.

VARLEY, J.
Vernet, H.

WALKER, G.
Walton, J.
Ward, Mrs
Wathen, J.
Watts, W. H.
Webber, J.
Welsh, Col. J.
West, J. and L.
Westall, R.
Westall, W.
Wheatley, F.
Whitcombe, T.
Wigstead, H.
Wild, C.
Wilkinson, J.
Wood, I. G.
Woodward, G. M.

APPENDIX D

PUBLICATIONS BY ACKERMANN WITH AQUATINT PLATES

Groups of Figures for Decorating Landscapes. 1798. 13 *plates after Pyne.*

Collection of Various Forms of Stoves, etc. 1798. 24 *plates after W. Robertson.*

Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs. 1799. 87 *coloured plates by T. Rowlandson.*

Horse Accomplishments. 1799. 12 *coloured plates by T. Rowlandson and G. M. Woodward.*

Book of Landscapes and Ruins. 1800. 4 *plates.*

Designs in Architecture for Garden Chairs, etc. 1800. *Title and* 24 *coloured plates by W. Robertson.*

Progressive Lessons for Drawing Landscapes. 1800. 16 *coloured plates.*

Smollett. Roderick Random. 1800. 2 *plates by J. C. Stadler after T. Rowlandson.*

Military Evolutions. 1801. 30 *aquatint plates by Zeigler and Bluck. Text by C. Gessner.*

Nelson's Funeral Procession. 1806. 6 *coloured plates, including* 2 *from drawings by M'Quin engraved by Ackermann.*

Costume of the Russian Army. 1807. 8 *plates.*

Ackermann's New Drawing Book. 1808. *Title and* 24 *plates by Manskirsch.*

Studies of Rural Life. 1808. 12 *plates by J. F. Manskirsch.*

Swedish Army. 6 parts. 1808. 24 *coloured plates by N. W. Heideloff after Baron Eben.*

Treatise on the Use of Indian Inks and Colours. 1808. 6 *coloured plates by R. B. Harraden and J. Bluck. Text by J. Bryant.*

Drawing Book of Light and Shadow, in imitation of Indian Ink. 1809. 24 *plates by T. Sutherland and J. Bluck.*

Microcosm of London. 1809-10. 104 *plates after A. Pugin and T. Rowlandson. Text to Vols. I. and II. by W. H. Pyne, and to Vol. III. by W. Combe.*

Westminster Abbey. 1812. 83 *plates after A. Pugin, Huett, and F. Mackenzie. Text by Combe.*

Rudiments of Landscape Drawing. 1812. 14 *plates, of which* 7 *are coloured, after Pyne.*

Cheltenham. 1813. 6 *coloured plates by H. Merke and J. Bluck after T. Hulley.*

Historical Sketch of Moscow. 1813. 12 *plates.*

Rudiments of Landscape. 1813. 64 *plates, of which* 40 *are aquatint,* 24 *plain, and* 16 *coloured, after S. Prout.*

Sketches of Russia. 1814. 15 *plates.*

University of Oxford. 1814. 84 *plates after Nash, Pyne, Pugin, Mackenzie, etc. Text by W. Combe.*

Portraits of the Founders. Supplementary to above. 32 *plates.*

Costume. Supplementary to above. 17 *plates after T. Uwins.*

University of Cambridge. 1815. 81 *plates. Text by W. Combe.*

Portraits of the Founders. Supplementary to above. 16 *plates.*

Costume. Supplementary to above. 14 *plates.*

College of Winchester. 1816.
College of Eton. 48 *plates.*
College of Westminster.
The Charter House.
Free School of St Paul.
Free School of Merchant Taylors.
Free School of Harrow.
Free School of Rugby.
School of Christ's Hospital.

Text by Combe, except Winchester, Eton, *and* Harrow, *which are by W. H. Pyne.*

Hints for Improving the Condition of the Peasantry. 1816. 10 *coloured plates. Text by R. Elsam.*

Grand Master, or Adventures of Qui Hi in Hindostan. 1816. *Title, frontispiece, and* 26 *plates by Rowlandson, of which* 25 *are coloured.*

Costume of the Netherlands. 1817. *Vignette and* 30 *coloured plates from drawings by Miss Semple.*

Visit to the Monastery of La Trappe in 1817. 1818. 15 *plates by I. Clark from drawings by W. D. Fellowes, of which* 12 *are coloured aquatint.*

Cabinet of the Arts. (32 monthly parts) 1819-21. *A few coloured aquatints after S. Prout and others.*

Chinese Puzzles. 1820. 12 *plates.*

Picturesque Tour along the Rhine. 1820. *Text by J. G. von Gerning.* 24 *plates after Schütz.*

Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. 1820. 24 *plates. Text by E. E. Vidal.*

Picturesque Tour of the English Lakes. 1820. 48 *plates after T. H. A. Fielding and J. Walton.*

Series of Easy Lessons in Landscape Drawing. 1820. 40 *plates, including* 16 *aquatints, of which* 8 *are coloured, after S. Prout.*

Picturesque Tour of the Seine. 1821. 24 *plates after A. Pugin and J. Gendall.*

Architectural Recreations, being a sequel to Geometrical Recreations. 1822. 13 *plates, of which* 11 *are aquatint.*

Illustrations of Japan. 1822. 13 *coloured plates, some of which are aquatint* 1 *by Stadler. Text by F. Shoberl, from French of I. Titsingh.*

Views of Switzerland. 1822. 20 *coloured plates.*

Vicar of Wakefield. 1823. 24 *coloured plates by Rowlandson. Text by O. Goldsmith.*

British Proverbs. 1824. 6 *plates.*

Picturesque Tour of the Ganges and Jumna. 1824. 24 *plates by Forrest.*

Picturesque Tour through the Pyrenean Mountains, Auvergne, etc. 1824. 12 *plates by W. Read and F. C. Lewis after Heriot.*

Variedades o Mensagero de Londres. 1824-25. 96 *coloured plates by Rev. J. B. White.*

Academy for Grown Horsemen. 1825. 27 *coloured plates by Gambado.*

Coloured Views of Parks and Gardens. 1825. 8 *coloured plates by Manskirsch.*

Museo Universal de Ciencas y Arte. 1825-6. 2 vols. 8vo. London and Mexico.

Scenery, etc., of India. 1826. 24 *plates by Grindlay.*

D'Oyley (Sir C.). Tom Raw the Griffin. 25 *coloured plates. 8vo.* 1828.

Picturesque Tour of the Thames. 1829. 24 *plates after Westall and Owen.*

Views on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. 1831-33. 15 *coloured plates chiefly after Bury, by Pyall and Hughes.*

Memoirs of John Mytton ; by Nimrod. 1835, 1837, 1851. 18 *coloured plates drawn and etched by H. A. and T. J. Rawlins, aquatinted by Duncan.*

On Painting in Oil and Water Colours for Landscape and Portraits. 1839. 10 *plates, of which* 4 *are coloured.*

Picturesque Description of the River Wye. 1821. 24 *coloured plates by Fielding.*

Epitome . . . of the Royal Naval Service of England. 1841. 8 *coloured plates by Fielding after Knell. Text by E. and L. Miles.*

Life of a Sportsman ; by Nimrod. 1842. 36 *coloured plates by Alken.*

Series of Progressive Lessons intended to Elucidate the Art of Painting in Water Colours. 1845. 19 *plates, of which* 12 *are coloured aquatint, by Cox.*

Views of Raglan Castle. N.D. 6 *plates drawn and engraved by Westall.*

REPOSITORY OF ARTS, LITERATURE, FASHIONS, MANUFACTURES, ETC., 1809-28, containing :—

Observations on the Fine Arts. 1809-15. *Text by "Junius."*

British Sports. 1809-11. 30 *plates. Text by S. Howitt.*

History of the English Drama. 1823-28. *Text by W. C. Stafford, of York.*

Modern Spectator. 1811-15. *Text by W. Combe.*

Cogitations of Johannes Scriblerus. 1814-16. *Text by W. Combe.*

Female Tatler. 1816-21. *Text by W. Combe.*

Adviser. 1817-22. *Text by W. Combe.*

Amelia's Letters. 1809-11. *Text by W. Combe. Republished as*

Letters between Amelia in London and her Mother in the Country. 1824.

Letters from Italy. 1809-13. *Text by Lewis Engelbach. Reprinted as*

Naples and the Campagna Felice. 1815. 13 *plates by Rowlandson.*

Select Views of London. 1810-15. 76 *plates. Text by J. B. Papworth Reprinted* 1816.

Designs for Furniture (First Series). 1809-15. 76 *plates. Reprinted as*

Upholsterer's and Cabinetmaker's Repository. 1816.

Architectural Hints. 1816-17. *Text by J. B. Papworth. Reprinted as*

Rural Residences. 1818.

Tour in the South of France. 1817-20. 17 *plates after Rowlandson. Reprinted* 1821 *as*

A Journal of Sentimental Travels in the Southern Provinces of France.

Picturesque Tour from Geneva to Milan by Way of the Simplon. 1818-20. 36 *plates. Text by F. Shoberl. Reprinted* 1820.

Pictorial Cards. 1818-19. *Reprinted* 1819.

Hints on Ornamental Gardening. 28 *plates. Text by J. B. Papworth. Reprinted* 1823.

Picturesque Tour through the Oberland in the Canton of Berne in Switzerland. 1821-22. 17 *plates. Reprinted* 1824.

Designs of Household Furniture and Decoration (Second Series). 1816-22. *Reprinted* 1823.

Views of Country Seats of the Royal Family, Nobility, and Gentry of England. 1823-28. 8*vo.* 50 *plates after W. Westall, T. H. Shepherd, and others, chiefly J. Gendall and Frederick Wilton Litchfield Stockdale. Reprinted* 1828 *and again in* 1830 *in* 2 *vols. with* 146 *plates.*

Designs for Gothic Furniture. 27 *plates after A. Pugin. Reprinted* 1828.

Female Fashions. *Plates by J. S. Agar.*

British Fashions. 1803-04.

POETICAL MAGAZINE, 1809-11, containing :—

First Tour of Doctor Syntax. 1809-11. *Plates after Rowlandson. Text by Combe. Reprinted* 1812, 1813, 1815, 1817, 1819, *etc.*

Second Tour of Doctor Syntax. 1820. *Plates after Rowlandson. Text by Combe.*

Third Tour of Doctor Syntax. 1821. *Plates after Rowlandson. Text by Combe. The three republished,* 1823, *in smaller form.*

English Dance of Death. 1815-16. *Plates after Rowlandson. Text by Combe.*

Dance of Life. 1816-17. *Plates after Rowlandson. Text by Combe.*

History and Life of Johnny Quæ Genus, the Little Foundling. 1822. *Plates after Rowlandson. Text by W. Combe.*

Military Adventures of Johnny Newcombe. 1815. 12 *plates after Rowlandson.*

Adventures of a Griffin : The History of Tom Raw, the East Indian Cadet. 1827.

Poetical Sketches of Scarborough. 1813. 21 *plates after James Green of London. Signed text by "J.P." (J. B. Papworth) and "W." (Rev. Francis Wrangham), unsigned by W. Combe.*

History of Madeira. 1821. 27 *plates. Text by W. Combe.*

Picturesque and Descriptive Tour in the Mountains of the High Pyrenees. 1825. 24 *plates by J. Hardy.*

Microcosm. 1822. 120 *plates. Text by W. H. Pyne.*

Treatise on Rural Architecture of England. 1803. *Text by Elsam.*

Ornamental Gardening. 1800. 24 *plates. Text by Robertson.*

Hothouses and Useful Gardening. 1798. 24 *plates. Text by Robertson*

Costume of the Netherlands. 1817. 30 *plates.*

Letters from Buenos Ayres and Chili. 1819. *Text by J. C. Davie.*

Ghost Stories. 1823. 6 *plates.*

Illustrations of the Palace at Brighton. 1826. *Text by Nash.*

First Principles of Landscape Drawing. 1829. *Text by G. Harley.*

APPENDIX E

LIST OF BOOKS CONTAINING ILLUSTRATIONS BY T. ROWLANDSON, BASED ON "ROWLANDSON THE CARICATURIST," BY J. GREGO

(With Additions)

Those with aquatint illustrations are marked (**A**).
Those without aquatint illustrations are marked (*).
Those not personally examined (?).

Title.	Date.	Form.	No. of Plates.	Author.	Publisher.
(**A**) Rowlandson's Imitations of Modern Drawings	1784-88	Folio	...	...	...
(?) History of the Westminster Election	1784	Quarto	Frontispiece and plates	...	...
(?) Poems of Peter Pindar	1786-92	Quarto	...	Dr Wolcot	G. Kearsley
(*) Picturesque Beauties of Boswell	1786	2 vols. sm. folio	20 caricatures from suggestions by Collings	...	E. Jackson, Marylebone Street
(**A**) An Excursion to Brighthelmstone made in the Year 1789	1790	Obl. folio	8 plates drawn and etched by Rowlandson and aquatinted by S. Alken	H. Wigstead	C. S. J. & I. Robinson
(?) Outlines of Figures, Landscapes, and Cattle	1790	Folio, 3 parts	16 plates	...	...

Title.	Date.	Form.	No. of Plates.	Author.	Publisher.
(?) Miniature Groups and Scenes	1790 *et seq.*	...	...	...	M. L., Brighthelmstone, and H. Brookes, Coventry Street, London
(?) Sheets of Picturesque Etchings	1790 *et seq.*	...	...	...	S. W. Fores, Piccadilly
(*) Series of Novels	1791 *et seq.*	Octavo	T. Smollett, 6 vols. with 6 frontispieces H. Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 3 vols., frontispiece, and 11 plates; *Joseph Andrews*, 8 plates	H. Fielding, T. Smollett, and others	I. Siebbald, Edinburgh
(*) Novels	1792	Quarto	From suggestions by Henry Woodward	T. Smollett.	...
(A) An Accurate and Impartial Narrative of the War	1796 3rd ed.	Octavo	6 plates by T. R. (?)	...	Cadell & Davies, Strand
(?) Cupid's Magic Lanthorn	1797	...	12 plates etched by Rowlandson after Henry Woodward	...	...
(A) Comforts of Bath	1798	Folio	12 plates designed and etched by Rowlandson	C. Anstey	S. W. Fores, Piccadilly

(?) Views of London	1798	Folio	...	...	Ackermann
(*) Annals of Horsemanship	1798	Folio	17 plates after Henry Bunbury	...	W. Wigstead, Charing Cross
(*) The Academy for Grown Horsemen	1798	Folio	12 plates after Henry Bunbury	...	W. Wigstead, Charing Cross
(A) An Academy for Grown Horsemen and Annals of Horsemanship by Geoffrey Gambado	1808	Octavo	29 coloured plates after Henry Bunbury	H. W. Bunbury	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) E. Jones' Musical Bouquet	1799	Quarto	Frontispiece	...	...
(?) Love in Caricature	1798	2 Numbers	11 plates and frontispiece	...	...
(A) The Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs	1799	Sq. folio	87 plates	...	Ackermann
(A) Hungarian and Highland Broadside Exercise (issued as a supplement to Angelo's Treatise on Fencing)	1799	Obl. folio	24 plates designed and etched by T. R.	H. Angelo	H. Angelo, Curzon Street, Mayfair
(*) Delineations of Nautical Characters	1799	Quarto	10 plates	...	Ackermann
(A) Remarks on a Tour to North and South Wales in the Year 1797	1800	Octavo	22 plates by Rowlandson, Pugh, Howitt, etc., aquatinted by J. Hill	H. Wigstead	W. Wigstead, Charing Cross
(*) The Beauties of Sterne	? 1800	Duodecimo	1 plate	L. Sterne	...
(?) Compendious Treatise on Modern Education	1802	Obl. quarto	8 plates by T. R.	T. B. Willyams	...

Title.	Date.	Form.	No. of Plates.	Author.	Publisher.
(*) Bardic Museum of Primitive British Literature and other Admirable Rarities	1802	Quarto	Coloured frontispiece	E. Jones	...
(*) Lyric Airs	1804	...	Coloured frontispiece	...	...
(?) Views in Cornwall, Dorset, etc.	1805	...	...	...	...
(*) Selection of German Waltzes	1806	...	Coloured frontispiece	E. Jones	...
(?) Sorrows of Werther	1806	...	From suggestions by Collings	...	...
(*) Pleasures of Human Life, by Hilaris Benevolus & Co.	1807	Octavo	Engraved title and 5 coloured plates	J. Britton	Longman
(?) All the Talents	1807	Octavo	Frontispiece by Rowlandson	Polypus [E. S. Barrett]	Stockdale, Pall Mall
(*) The Miseries of Human Life	1808	Sm. folio	50 coloured plates including title, designed and etched by Rowlandson	...	Ackermann
(A) Microcosm of London, or London in Miniature	1808	3 vols. quarto	105 coloured plates by Pugin and Rowlandson	W. H. Pyne and W. Combe	Ackermann
(?) The Caricature Magazine, or Hudibrastic Mirror	1808-13	5 vols. Obl. folio	386 plates, designed and engraved by Rowlandson	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside

(*) The Art of Ingeniously Tormenting	1808 (Rep. 1809)	Duodecimo 1809 post 8vo	5 coloured plates after G. M. Woodward	[Jane Collier]	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) A Lecture on Heads	1808	Octavo	Coloured frontispiece and 24 plates after G. M. Woodward	G. A. Stevens	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) Chesterfield Travestie; or, School for Modern Manners, republished as—	1808	Duodecimo	10 plates after H. Woodward, coloured frontispiece and 9 plates	H. Woodward	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) Chesterfield Burlesque	1811	Small octavo	...	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) Sterne's Sentimental Journey	1809	Duodecimo	4 coloured plates drawn and engraved by Rowlandson	L. Sterne	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(A) Sketches from Nature	1809	Quarto	12 views etched by Rowlandson and aquatinted by Stadler	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) The Beauties of Sterne	1809	Duodecimo	Coloured frontispiece and 2 plates by Rowlandson	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) The Surprising Adventures of the renowned Baron Münchausen	1809	Duodecimo	Frontispiece and 7 plates	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) The Annals of Sporting, by Caleb Quizem	1809	Duodecimo	Folding frontispiece, vignettes and plates, after Woodward	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside

Title.	Date.	Form.	No. of Plates.	Author.	Publisher.
(*) Advice to Sportsmen, selected from the Notes of Marmaduke Markwell	1809	Duodecimo, post 8vo	Coloured frontispiece and 15 coloured plates after Woodward	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) The Trial of the Duke of York	1809	2 vols.	...	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) Investigation of the Charges brought against H.R.H. the Duke of York, etc.	1809	2 vols. Duodecimo	14 portraits	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) Hudibras	1809	Octavo	5 plates after William Hogarth	S. Butler	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) Antidote to the Miseries of Human Life	1809	Octavo	...	J. Beresford	...
(*) Beauties of Tom Brown	(1809)	Duodecimo	Folding frontispiece	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(A) Poetical Magazine(issued monthly), containing The Schoolmaster's Tour, issued later as—	1809 *et seq.*	Roy. octavo	2 plates monthly	W. Combe	Ackermann
(A) The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque	1812 collected in 1 vol.	Roy. octavo	31	W. Combe	Ackermann
(A) The Second Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of Consolation (first issued in monthly parts)	1820 collected in 1 vol.	Roy. octavo	24	W. Combe	Ackermann

(A) The Third Tour of Doctor Syntax, in Search of a Wife (first issued in monthly parts; *cf.* also under 1822 for French version of Doctor Syntax)	1821 collected in 1 vol.	Roy. octavo	25	W. Combe	Ackermann
(?) Gothic Tales and Romances, chiefly original	1810	Octavo	24 coloured plates by R. and G. Cruikshank	...	...
(?) Münchausen at Walcheren	1811	...	...	...	...
(*) The Spirit of Irish Wit	1811	Post octavo	Coloured frontispiece by Rowlandson	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(?) Twelfth Night Characters	1811	Octavo	24 coloured etchings by Rowlandson	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(*) Petticoat Loose, a Fragmentary Tale of the Castle (Dublin)	1812	Quarto	4	...	J. J. Stockdale, 41 Pall Mall
(*) Views of Cornwall, Devon, etc.	1812	...	...	...	...
(A) Poetical Sketches of Scarborough	1813	Octavo	21 coloured plates after J. Green	"J. P." (J. B. Papworth), "W." (Rev. Francis Wrangham) and anon. (W. Combe)	Ackermann
(A) Naples and the Campagna Felice (a reprint of Letters from Italy from the *Repository*, 1810-13)	1815	Roy. octavo	18 coloured plates	Lewis Engelbach	Ackermann
(A) The Military Adventures of Johnny Newcome	1815	Roy. octavo	15 coloured plates	"An Officer"	Patrick Martin, 198 Oxford Street
(A) The Grand Master; or, Adventures of Qui Hi in Hindostan, a Hudibrastic Poem in eight cantos by Quiz	1815-16	Octavo	28 coloured plates	...	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside

Title.	Date.	Form.	No. of Plates.	Author.	Publisher.
(A) Dance of Death (first issued in monthly parts)	1815-16	2 vols. Roy. octavo	72 coloured plates	W. Combe	Ackermann
(*) Rowlandson's World in Miniature, consisting of Groups of Figures, for the Illustration of Landscape Scenery (issued in 8 monthly parts)	1816	Sm. quarto	58 coloured plates drawn and etched by T. R.	...	Ackermann
(*) The Relics of a Saint, by Ferdinand Farquhar	1816	...	Frontispiece	F. Farquhar	Thomas Tegg, Cheapside
(A) Vicar of Wakefield	1817	Octavo	24 coloured plates	O. Goldsmith	Ackermann
(A) The Dance of Life (first issued in monthly parts)	1817	Roy. octavo	26 coloured plates	W. Combe	Ackermann
(A) The Adventures of Johnny Newcome in the Navy	1818	Octavo	16 after Alfred Burton	A. Burton	Simpkin & Marshall, Stationers' Hall Court
(*) Who killed Cock Robin, a Satirical Tragedy or Hieroglyphic Prophecy on the Manchester Blot	1819	Octavo (pamphlet) 23 pages	1	...	John Carnac
(?) Female Intrepidity; or, The Heroic Maiden	1819	(Chap-book)	Folding frontispiece	...	...
(*) Rowlandson's Characteristic Sketches of the Lower Orders, intended as a Companion to the New Picture of London	1820	Duodecimo	54 coloured plates	...	Samuel Leigh, 18 Strand
(*) Le Don Quichotte Romantique, ou Voyage du Docteur Syntaxe à la Recherche du Pittoresque, et du Romantique	Paris, 1820	Octavo	Portrait, vignette, and 24 lithographs by Engelmann after Rowlandson	Gaudais, translated by Combe	Paris

(A) Journal of Sentimental Travels in the Southern Provinces of France (a reprint of a Tour in the South of France from the *Repository*, 1817-20)	1821	Roy. octavo	17 coloured plates	...	Ackermann
(A) The History of Johnny Quæ Genus: The Little Foundling of the Late Doctor Syntax—A Poem by the Author of the Three Tours (first published in monthly instalments)	1822	Octavo	24 coloured plates	W. Combe	Ackermann
(A) Rowlandson's Sketches from Nature	1822	Quarto	18 plates drawn and etched by Rowlandson and aquatinted by Stadler	...	...
(?) Crimes of the Clergy	1822	Octavo	2	...	...
(A) The Three Tours of Doctor Syntax (Pocket Edition)	1823	3 vols. duodecimo	...	William Combe	Ackermann
(*) Die Reise des Doktors Syntax um das Malesische aufzusuchen	1822	...	Lithographs by F. E. Rademacher	...	...
(*) The Spirit of the Public Journals	1824	Octavo	Wood engravings by T. R., R. G. Cruikshank, Lane, and Findlay	C. M. Westmacott	Sherwood & Jones, Paternoster Row
(A) The English Spy	1825	Roy. octavo	72 plates; 2 by T. R.	Bernard Blackmantle (*i.e.* C. M. Westmacott)	Sherwood, Jones & Co., Paternoster Row
(?) The Humourist	1831	Octavo	50 plates from drawings by T. R.	W. H. Harrison	Ackermann
(A) Etchings from Modern Masters	N.D.	Folio	36 plates by Rowlandson, 10 first aquatinted from drawings by Gainsborough	...	N.P.

APPENDIX F

ENGRAVERS AND THE BOOKS THEY ILLUSTRATED

THE LATTER ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

ACKERMANN, R.

Nelson's Funeral Procession.

ALKEN, H.

Morier. Illustrations of Persia.
„ Second Journey through Persia.
Real Life in Ireland.
Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette.
Alken. Memoirs of John Mytton.
„ Life of a Sportsman.
„ Art and Practice of Etching.

ALKEN, S.

Wigstead and Rowlandson. Excursion to Brighthelmstone.
Beaumont. Antiquities in South of France.
Darwin. Botanic Garden.
Sotheby. Tour through Wales.
Views in Switzerland.
Views in Westmoreland, Cumberland, etc.
Rogers. Views in Westmoreland and Cumberland.
Maton. Observations on Natural History.
Broughton. Views in North Wales.
Whitaker. Deanery of Craven.
Warner. Tour through Cornwall.
Newell. Poetical Works of Goldsmith.

ALMUCCO, T.

Hamilton. Remarks on Turkey.

APOSTOOL, C.

Views in Westmoreland, Cumberland, etc.
Beaumont. Antiquities in South of France.
„ Travels through the Maritime Alps.

ATKINSON, J. A.

Atkinson. Naval and Military Costumes of Great Britain.
Beresford. Miseries of Human Life.
Ireland. Stultifera Navis.
Atkinson. The Cutter.

ATKINSON, J. A.—*continued.*

Broughton. Costume of the Mahrattas.
Williamson. Foreign Field Sports.
Smith. Antient Costume of Great Britain.
Alexander. Dress and Manners of the English.
Atkinson. Poet, Miser, Virtuoso.
„ Panoramic View of St Petersburgh.
„ Manners of the Russians.

BAILEY, J.

Jenkins. Naval Achievements.
Pyne. Royal Residences.
Ralfe. Naval Chronology of Great Britain.
Westall. Tour of River Thames.
Bentley. Tour of River Thames.

BAXTER, J.

Broughton. Costume of the Mahrattas.

BENNETT, W.

Combe. History of Oxford.
„ History of Winchester, Eton, etc.
Pyne. Royal Residences.
Ralfe. Naval Chronology of Great Britain.
Naylor. Coronation of George IV.

BENTLEY, C.

Westall. Tour of River Thames.
Bentley. Tour of River Thames.
Johnson. Historical Account of Antigua.

BLUCK, J.

Gessner. Military Evolutions.
Bryant. Indian Inks and Colours.
Pyne and Combe. Microcosm of London.
Salt. Views in St Helena, etc.
Gell. Geography of Ithaca.
Drawing Book of Light and Shadow.
Combe. History of Westminster Abbey.
Cheltenham.
Green. Poetical Sketches of Scarborough.
Combe. History of Oxford.
„ History of Cambridge.
„ History of Winchester, Eton, etc.
Latrobe. Visit to South Africa.
Vidal. Buenos Ayres and Monte Video.

BOYDELL, J.

Webber. Views in the South Seas

BRIDGENS, R.

Bridgens. Costumes; Italy.
„ Manners of France, Switzerland, and Italy.

BRIGHTY, G. M.

Shepheard. Vignette Designs.
Blackmantle. English Spy.

BRUCE, J.

Bruce. Ten Views of Brighton.

BURKE, T.

Thornton. Temple of Flora.

CALDWELL, J.

Thornton. Temple of Flora.

CANTON, C. J.

Johnston. Travels through the Russian Empire.

CARR, Sir J.

St Sauveur. Travels through the Balearic Islands.

CARTWRIGHT, T.

Heriot. Travels through the Canadas.
Johnston. Travels through the Russian Empire.
Pugh. Cambria Depicta.

CATTON, C., Jun.

Catton. Animals drawn from Nature.

CHAMBERLAINE, J.

Engravings from A. A. and L. Caracci.

CLARK, E.

Nightingale. Oceanic Sketches.

CLARK, J.

Loutherbourg. Romantic Scenery of England and Wales.
Blagdon. History of Nelson.
Howitt. Orme's British Field Sports.
Noble. Practical Perspective.
Williamson. Foreign Field Sports.
Mackenzie. Travels in Iceland.
Temple. Operations in the Persian Gulf.
Wathen. Voyage to Madras.
Simond. Tour and Residence in Great Britain.
Mornay. Picture of St Petersburgh.
James. Tour in Germany, Sweden, etc.
Koster. Travels in Brazil.
Ellis. Proceedings of the Embassy to China.
Legh. Journey in Egypt.
M'Leod. Voyage to the Yellow Sea.
Fellowes. Visit to La Trappe.
Orme. Anecdotes of Personal Valour.
Butler. Hudibras.
Cervantes. Don Quixote, trans. by C. Jarvis.

CLARK, J.—*continued.*

Graham. Life of Poussin.
„ Three Months East of Rome.
Porter. Travels in Georgia, etc.
Wathen. Views of St Helena.
Campbell. Travels in South Africa.
Bakewell. Travels in the Tarentaise.
Mollien. Travels in Columbia.
Bullock. Travels in Mexico.
Cochrane. Pedestrian Journey.
Benson. Sketches of Corsica.
Ward. Mexico in 1827.
Frankland. Travels to Constantinople.
Emerson. Letters from the Aegean.

CLARK, J. H.

Williamson. Costumes of Modern India.
„ European in India.
Military Costume of Turkey.
Alken. National Sports of Great Britain.
Clark. Gilpin's Day.

CLARKE, J.

Serres. Liber Nauticus.
Perry. Conchology.
Le Sage. Gil Blas.
Clarke. Views of Principal Towns in Scotland.
Sterne. Works, with Life.

CLEGHORN, J.

Nash. Royal Pavilion at Brighton.

COCKBURN.

Cockburn. A Voyage to Cadiz and Gibraltar.

COOPER, R.

Thornton. Temple of Flora.
Ralfe. Naval Chronology of Great Britain.

CRAIG, W. M.

Howitt. Orme's Collection of British Field Sports

CROWQUILL, A.

Forrester. Paris and Dover.

CRUIKSHANK, G.

Combe. Life of Napoleon.
Mudford. Campaign in the Netherlands.
Carey. Life in Paris.
Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette.
Ireland. Life of Napoleon.
Cruikshank. Greenwich Hospital.

CRUIKSHANK, I. R. or R. I.

Cruikshank. Lessons of Thrift.
Egan. Sporting Anecdotes.
Blackmantle. English Spy.

CRUIKSHANK, I. R. or R. I. and G.

Egan. Life in London.

CRUIKSHANK, I. R. or R. I., and WILLIAMS, C.

Cruikshank. My Cousin in the Army.

DANIELL, S.

Daniell. African Scenery and Animals.
Blagdon. Ancient and Modern India.
Daniell. Illustrations of Ceylon.
„ Oriental Scenery.

DANIELL, T.

Voyage to India.

DANIELL, W.

Wood. Zoography.
Daniell. Animated Nature.
„ Voyage to India.
„ Views of London.
„ Views in Bootan.
„ Adventures of Hunchback.
Ayton. Voyage Round Great Britain.
Daniell. Views in Scotland.
„ Island of Staffa.
„ Views of Windsor, etc.
„ Sketches of a Voyager.
„ Views of Paulo Penang.

DAWE, H. E.

Johnston. Travels through the Russian Empire.

DODD, R.

Blagdon. Memoirs of G. Morland.
Falconer. The Shipwreck.

DOUGLAS, J.

Douglas. Nenia Britannica.

DUBOURG, M.

Middleton. Grecian Remains in Italy.
Wild. Cathedral of Chester.
„ Cathedral of Lichfield.
Williamson. Costumes of Modern India.
„ European in India.
Mornay. Picture of St Petersburgh.
Orme. Anecdotes of Personal Valour.
Lugar. Plans and Views.
Dubourg. Ancient Buildings in Rome.
Brayley. Illustrations of H.M. Palace at Brighton.

DUNCAN, E.

Johnson. Historical Account of Antigua.
Alken. Memoirs of John Mytton.
Scott. Sportsman's Repository.

DUNKARTON, R.

Thornton. Temple of Flora.

EARLOM, R.

Earlom. Collection of Prints after Cipriani.
Thornton. Temple of Flora.

EDY, J. W.

Views in Switzerland.
Colebrook. Views of Mysore.
Tooke. Picturesque Norway.

EGERTON, D. T.

Quiz. Fashionable Bores.

ELMES.

Thornton. Temple of Flora.

FELLOWES, W.

Smith. Antiquities of Westminster.

FIELDING, J.

Bentley. Tour of the River Thames.

FIELDING, N. S.

Miles. Epitome of the Royal Naval Service of England.

FIELDING, T. H. A.

Fielding. Picturesque Description of the River Wye.
Abel. Journey in China.
Morier. Illustrations of Persia.
„ Second Journey through Persia.
Westall. Victories of Duke of Wellington.
Nicholson. Practice of Landscape.
Northern Cambrian Mountains.
Fraser. Views of Calcutta.
Walton. Tour of English Lakes.
Fielding. Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire.
„ Excursions sur les Côtes de Normandie.
Hakewill. Tour of Jamaica.
Barker. Landscape Scenery at Bath.
Fielding. British Castles.
Grindlay. Scenery of India.
Moore. Burmese War.
Fielding. Views in West Indies.
Westall. Tour of the River Thames.
Johnson. Historical Account of Antigua.
Fielding. Index of Colours.
„ Theory of Painting.

FINDEN, E. T.

Franklin. Journey to Polar Sea.
Graham. Residence in Chile.
Lyall. Character of the Russians.

FINDLAY.

Wilson. Paris Lions.
Little. Confessions of an Oxonian.

FRANCIA, L.

Francia. Imitations of Landscapes by Gainsborough.

FRY, W. T.

Orme. Anecdotes of Personal Valour.

GARDNOR, Rev. J.

Williams. History of Monmouthshire.

GAUGAIN, T.

Thornton. Temple of Flora.

GILLRAY, J.

Gillray. Genuine Works.

GILPIN, W.

Gilpin. Observations on Wye and South Wales.
" " Cumberland and Westmoreland.
" " Highlands of Scotland.
" Three Essays on Picturesque Scenery, etc.
" Remarks on Forest Scenery.
" Observations on England.
" " Hampshire, etc.
" " Cambridge, etc.
" Nature.

GLEADAH, J.

Johnston. Travels through the Russian Empire.
Varley. Principles of Landscape Design.
" Precepts for Design in Landscape.
Cruikshank. Wits' Album.

GODBY, J.

Howitt. Orme's Collection of British Field Sports.

GREEN, W.

Wood. Noblemen's Seats.
Green. Tourist's Guide to the Lakes.

HALL, J.

Smith. Antiquities of Westminster.

HAMBLE, J.

Serres. Liber Nauticus.
Blagdon. History of Nelson.
Clark. Essay on Landscapes in Water-Colours.
Combe. History of Westminster Abbey.

HARDIE.

Repton. Sketches on Landscape Gardening.
Lugar. Architectural Sketches.

HARDY, J.

Hardy. Tour in the Pyrenees.

HARRADEN, R. B.

Girtin. Picturesque Views in Paris.
Serres. Liber Nauticus.
Bryant. Treatise on Indian Ink.
Pyne and Combe. Microcosm of London.

HASSELL, J.

Hassell. Tour of Isle of Wight.
„ Picturesque Guide to Bath.
Gold. Oriental Drawings.
Hassell. Memoirs of Morland.
„ Beauties of Antiquity.
„ Aqua Pictura.
Jenkins. Martial Achievements.
Hassell. Picturesque Walks and Rides.
„ The Speculum.
„ Tour of the Grand Junction.
„ The Camera.
„ Excursions of Pleasure.

HAVELL.

Roberts. Cambrian Popular Antiquities.
Battle of Algiers.
Hall. Voyage to Corea.
Stothard. Tour through Normandy.
Fraser. Journal of a Tour through the Himalayas.
West. Guide to the Lakes.
Havell. Devon Views.

HAVELL, D.

Salt. Views in St Helena.
Combe. History of Oxford.
Smith. Antient Costume of Great Britain.
Meyrick. Costume of British Isles.
Walker. Costume of Yorkshire.
Combe. History of Cambridge.
„ History of Eton, etc.
Roche. Sketches in Flanders.
Hassell. Picturesque Rides.
Pyne. Royal Residences.
Richardson. Architectural Antiquities.
Northern Cambrian Mountains.
Ralfe. Naval Chronology.
Vidal. Buenos Ayres.
Sauvan. Tour of the Seine.
Brayley. Theatres of London.

HAVELL, R., Sen.

Salt. Views in St Helena.
Meyrick. Costume of British Isles.
Smith. Antient Costume of Great Britain.
Walker. Costume of Yorkshire.
Bellasis. Views of St Helena.
Gell. Views in Barbary.
Peake. Characteristic Costume.
Gerning. Picturesque Tour on the Rhine
Naylor. Coronation of George IV.
Fraser. Views of Calcutta.
Audubon. Birds of America.
Welsh. Military Reminiscences.
Bury. Hexandrian Plants.
Barron. Views in India.

HAVELL, R., Jun.

Brayley. H.M. Palace at Brighton.

HAVELL AND SON.

Tully. Ten Years at Tripoli.
Fitzclarence. Route across India.
Ross. Voyage to Baffin's Bay.
Havell. Views of London.
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